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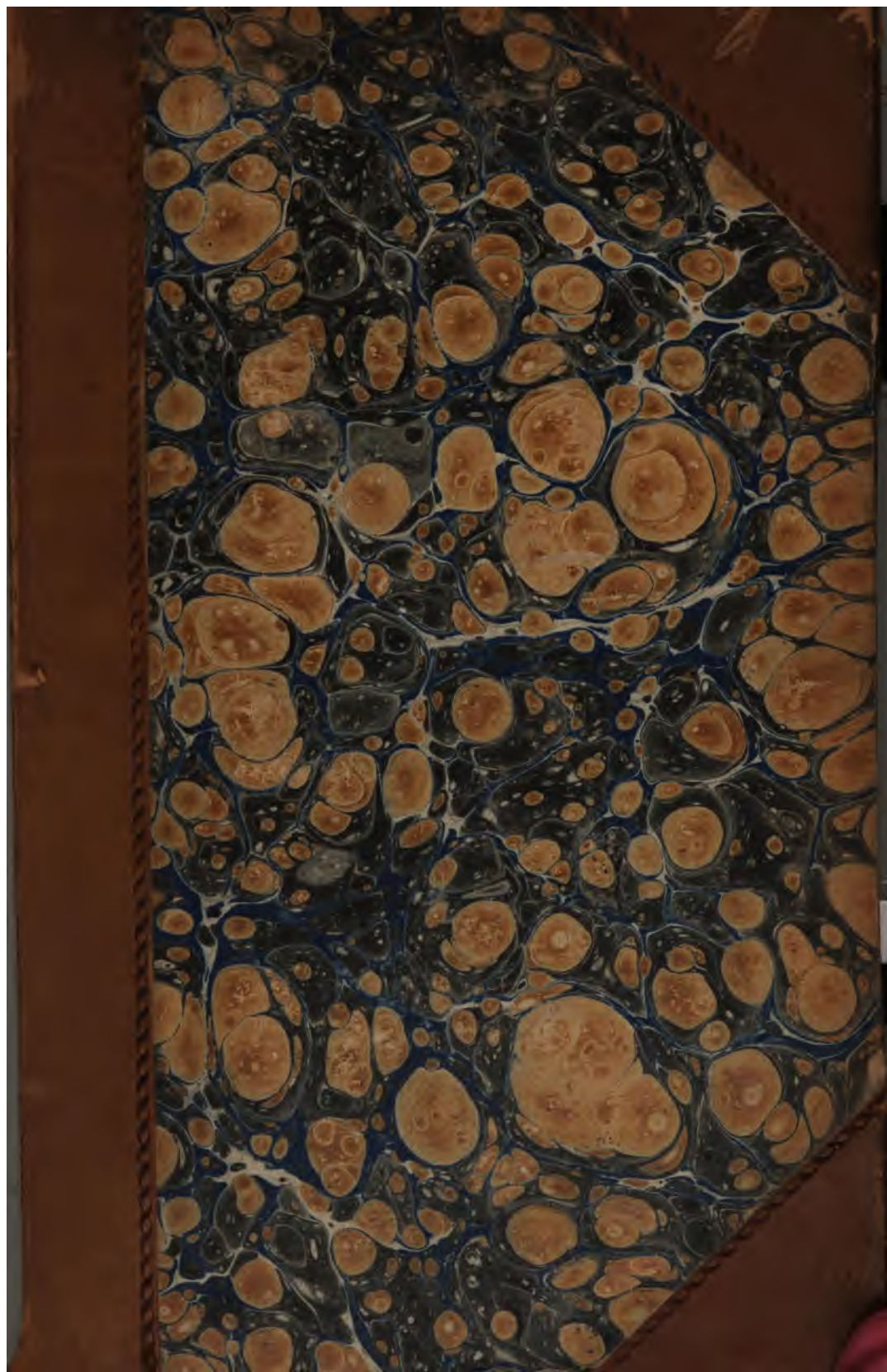
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24-10-10

# SUPPLEMENT

TO AN

## INQUIRY

INTO THE

INTEGRITY

OF THE

## GREEK VULGATE,

OR

*RECEIVED TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT;*

CONTAINING THE VINDICATION OF THE PRINCIPLES  
EMPLOYED IN ITS DÉFENCE.

—o—

BY THE REV. FRED. NOLAN LL.D. F.R.S.L.

VICAR OF PRITTLEWELL, ESSEX.



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[illegible]

1. The first step is to identify the problem. This involves understanding the current situation and the goals that need to be achieved.

2. Next, it is important to gather information. This can be done through research, interviews, and data analysis.

3. Once the information is gathered, the next step is to develop a plan. This plan should outline the steps that need to be taken to achieve the goals.

4. After the plan is developed, it is time to implement it. This involves putting the plan into action and monitoring progress.

5. Finally, it is important to evaluate the results. This involves comparing the actual results to the goals and determining if the plan was successful.

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## P R E F A C E .

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The Canon of Scripture being received as the unerring rule of faith, and the ultimate test of controversy; the foundation of all Religion must necessarily collapse with the destruction of its integrity. As this object would be effectually attained, should the critical system, on which Dr. Griesbach proposed to amend the received Text, be incautiously admitted; it required no exertion of sagacity, or stretch of foresight to observe, that while his critical labors continued silently to gain ground; the landmarks fixed by the Established Church, as a barrier to innovation and error, could not preserve their original position.

A ministry whom the obligations, imposed by duty and ratified under the most solemn stipulations, have obliged to transmit "the faith delivered to the saints," in the purity in which it descended from their predecessors, could not remain silent and inactive observers of the consequences with which it was menaced. As expressly pledged "to give a reason for the hope that was in them," but one of two courses, at such a conjuncture, lay open to their election. They were required firmly to maintain the position which they had so long occupied; or to abandon the ground which could not be defended. The integrity of the original text being impeached, the fidelity of the translation became implicated in the sentence; the imputation of corruption, therefore, in which they were equally in-



involved, should be either refuted, or the text and version be submitted to a revisal, and rendered superior to the charge or suspicion of error.

Impressed by these considerations, the author entered into the "Inquiry into the Integrity of the Received Text," which has given rise to the discussion contained in the following pages. In engaging in the task, he was not unconscious, that its vindication would come with greater weight, if sent forth by one who filled not the very lowest rank in his profession. He then believed it to be the place, and continues to think it was the duty, of those who were called to the chair of instruction and admonition, to provide for the defence of the inspired text, if they were not prepared to abandon the sacred deposit to its impugnors. While he conceived that the barriers against innovation should be strengthened by the weight of authority; it was with equal mortification and surprise that he found, among those in whom it was vested, some who deemed the inroad inevitable, and one who from the bishop's and professor's chair, pronounced it expedient. Undismayed by the growing difficulties, which impeded his success, he notwithstanding embarked single-handed in the undertaking. Without distinction, and without encouragement, he applied himself to the task; for he was inwardly supported by the animating conviction,—that though truth like light, may engage attention from the eminence on which it is raised, no difference in the place from whence it shines can diminish its power of illumination. And he is now rewarded by the proud consideration, that in any influence with which it has been attended, it has prevailed solely by its native unassisted lustre.

Fifteen years have elapsed, since the author undertook to acquit himself of a duty, which however compelled by the untowardness of circumstances to discharge alone, he felt himself under no obligation to discharge singly and unassisted. Though the first year which he devoted to the subject, had scarcely expired before his vindication of the "Greek Vulgate" passed the public ordeal; in the attacks which he then directed against the German critic's Text and classification of MSS. he has remained, for the whole of the period which has passed since its appearance, without an oppugner. In the mode of defence by which he undertook to maintain the Integrity of the Received Text, by a new classification and higher tests of authenticity; he continues equally unopposed. The principles which he devised, for tracing the innumerable multitude of various readings to their origin; a task which his great rival essayed, and abandoned, as not to be accomplished; have remained unassailed by one solid objection. Against one point alone, and that of minor importance to his argument, as affecting the defence of three, or at most five passages of the Canon, has an opponent appeared to direct his hostility. The importance and weight of the objections, which this assailant advances, may be inferred from the author's defence in reply to the two tracts which he sent forth; the scattered parts of which he has collected in the subjoined pages. But the sixth year has now nearly passed away, since this controvertist has been compelled to withdraw from the consequences of the contest which he provoked: and the author, for the whole of that time, finds himself in the undisputed possession of every position which he



had occupied at the commencement of his operations.

In *one point* alone, where the prospect of success appeared hopeless from the first, from the "gigantic efforts" by which the controversy was held to be decided, he is left to suppose that his labors have proved less successful, though not altogether unavailing. Of the three doctrinal texts Acts xx. 28. 1 Tim. iii. 16. 1. John v. 7. which, as read in the Received Text, he undertook to shew were genuine scripture; the long-contested passage, generally known as the text of the Heavenly Witnesses, still finds its *oppugners*; who though they prove equally incapable of devising a new objection for its subversion, as of disposing of the last arguments advanced in its support, are not less pertinacious in disputing its authenticity.

In restating this controversy on the narrowest grounds in the "two Letters" in which the following discussion closes; the author employs the present occasion, not so much to lament the oversight, as to complain of the policy used by its opponents. They appear fully aware of the convenience of keeping the reader's attention fixed to one side of the alternative, on which the question of its authenticity properly turns. While they seem marvellously quick-sighted to the dangerous consequences of admitting the general corruption of the Greek Text; they enjoy a complacent indifference, as to the consequences of proving the general sophistication of the Latin. Although in denying the *erasure* of the disputed text from the Eastern copies, they implicitly assert its *interpolation* in the Western; and thus ingeniously substantiate that charge of infidelity against the witnesses and guardians of scripture, which they so loudly denounce, as utterly subversive of its integrity.

The author delays not to insist upon the real security against danger, in the comparative testimony of the two Churches which is unaccountably set in opposition. Regarding the controversy, exclusively with reference to the choice of difficulties which it presents; for it is impossible to exculpate the one church without implicating the other; he stops only to observe, that in coming to any conclusion on its merits, we are reduced to a choice of rival hypotheses. The election which is left to the reader, in the subjoined discussion, may be thus summarily stated. The author maintains, on the one hand, 'That in the exercise of a discretionary power committed to him by Constantine the Great, and in obedience to the *Disciplina Arcani*, the contested verse was *withdrawn* from the Greek text by Eusebius Cæsariensis.' His opponent on the other hand asserts, that "it got *thrust into* the Latin manuscripts, through the undesigning mistake of Vigilius Tapsensis." The general merits of the different schemes, thus proposed, for reconciling the contradictory testimony of the witnesses to the integrity of scripture, may be collected by the references to the pages of the annexed controversy subjoined in the margin.\* By one difference, however, the author believes, that the labors employed in the establishment of the disputed passage, and those used in its subversion, will be found essentially distinguished. His pains have been directed, to answer every exception to the authenticity of the text; and to refute every objection to the theory by which it has been defended. But no attempt has been made to overturn the reasoning which he has urged in its support; and but a feeble ef-

\* Infr. p. 117. 161. conf. p. 22, 25, 93. 129. 139. 181.



fort to repel the charge of incompetency, fastened upon the hypothesis which has been contrived for its subversion. Until the claims which he thus prefers against his opponents are satisfied, he feels justified in the boast, that he has not merely proved, an improbability exists in the conclusion which is deduced in it; but has demonstrated that an impossibility is implied in the very principles from which any similar inference may be drawn in future.\* He ventures also to observe, that the contest in which he is engaged is distinguished by some singularities, to which the history of controversy scarcely furnishes any parallel. In the concessions of the opponents of the verse, the principle is not merely ceded on which its advocates uphold its authority, but the inferences are drawn which lead to its establishment;† in one instance so ingeniously are they deduced, as to reduce the assumption of its spuriousness to an absolute impossibility!‡

On the more vague and superficial objections by which the method employed by the author in the defence of the Received Text has been impugned, it was his original intention, to remain silent. To those who are not so purblind, as to be incapable of comprehending more than one side of the question; on balancing the difficulties on which it really turns, the consequences, with which it has been charged, must appear so groundless and chimerical, as to require no refutation. In the habitual felicity of blundering, by which too many of his opponents are distinguished, they present him with those unsolicited concessions, which remove every difficulty from the task of effecting his justification.

\*Vid. Infr. p. 177.

† Ibid. p. 182.

‡ Ibid. p. 181.

Among the objections of such a cast which it remains for him to notice, an accusation has been brought against his method of vindication, that it proceeds from no friend to Christianity; the interests of which are endangered by the charge that is preferred in it against an "ancient bishop and historian." But he is curious to learn how much its interests gain by those judicious friends, who, in shifting a venial charge from Eusebius Cæsariensis, fasten one of an aggravated nature on Vigilius Tapsensis, or some other African Prelate.\* To form any just estimate of the consequences with which the conflicting hypotheses, devised for the defence and subversion of the verse, are respectively charged, we need only set them in immediate opposition.

With this object, it may be observed, that in the principle on which its advocates depend, it is maintained, 'That in compliance with the secret discipline of the Church, the verse was withdrawn from St John's text by a Bishop of Cæsarea; and that, through a like compliance, the Greek hierarchy tacitly acquiesced in its removal from scripture.' With this position let the tirade of its opponents be, on the contrary, compared, who with little ceremony, "pronounce it, not only a *foul and scandalous interpolation* of the Epistle itself, but a sad reproach to the *whole Christian Episcopate*, in that they have tranquilly suffered it to be imposed upon the Christian world."† When the antecedent conclusion is *denied*, as the latter consequence is inevitable; the Received Text is thus convicted of gross corruption, and the criminal negligence of the episcopal body remains without defence or justification.

\* Porson Lett. p. 338.

† Oxlee, 1 Letter Chr. Remembr. for Feb. 1822, p. 69.



But if it be *admitted*,—the text and episcopate are alike vindicated from the shameless aspersion; and a palliation offered, against every imputation chargeable upon the Greek Church, in the religious discipline enjoined on its members. When it is therefore flippantly objected to the advocates of the verse, that in endeavoring to defend this passage, they are laboring with all their might to destroy the authority on which all scripture rests; it is fit its opponents should be taught, that without any labor of proof, or exertion of thought, they admirably succeed in subverting it to the foundation. If the guardians of its purity be universally convicted of a conspiracy, to corrupt it with “a foul and scandalous interpolation,” on a doctrinal point of unequalled importance;—it matters not in what remote causes the corruption originated, whether from negligence, premeditation, or “undesigning mistake;”—every plea becomes reduced to rank and irremediable nonsense which can be offered for the integrity of any passage in scripture.

The author, in collecting in its present form, the scattered parts of the controversy which he has maintained in defence of the Received Text, is not merely influenced by the desire of preparing the ground for further operations, but of stating the considerations which have so long occasioned their being protracted.

A controversy, which has exhausted the laborious research of Mill, Wetsein, Bengel, and Sabatier; on which the vast erudition of Selden, the reasoning powers of Newton, and the critical acumen of Bentley and Porson have been successfully exercised, he is not so presumptuous as to hope their readers will be disposed to regard in any view but that in which they placed

it, unless an accumulation of light is brought to bear directly upon it. Under this conviction, he has withheld his strongest arguments, though he little anticipated the untoward circumstances, which have so long precluded his bringing them forward. Of the circumstantial evidence which may be adduced against Eusebius of Cæsarea, as an editor and corrupter of the scriptures, but a small portion has made its appearance. And in the *Disciplina Arcani* he has retained a masked battery of which little use has been hitherto made, in covering the passage, where his system of defence has seemed to oppose the weakest barrier against an assailant. From the resources which he has thus held in his power, an answer has been returned to the challenge given by Newton to the champions of the verse, in dispute, to point out the time and manner of its erasure from scripture. And he here holds himself pledged to establish its authority, by the same reserve, in the alternative to which the controversy on its authenticity has been reduced by professor Porson. By this able critic, the most formidable of its oppugners, it is allowed, that the principles on which Bengel undertook its defence being admitted, his conclusion respecting its authenticity follows of course; the author here lays down his gage to establish them, when circumstances shall permit, by legitimate and rigid demonstration.

On the sanguine hopes, with which the author engaged in an undertaking of peculiar difficulty and labor, he is as little disposed to dwell, as on the discouragements and disappointments, with which it has been principally requited. It would be unworthy of the part, in which he engaged, to descend to the language of complaint; and he would choose another place and



occasion, to give vent to the stronger feelings, which his recollection of the past occasionally awakens. He ought not perhaps to conceal, that he entered on the task, which has engrossed, from subjects of higher interest, the best years of his life, with some anticipations of the toil and difficulty which awaited his exertions, and a strong presentiment, that the recompence would be certainly slow, and probably illusive. He is forward, also to declare, what he may conscientiously aver, that the result which has attended his exertions, has brought in its success a reward to his ambition, which he would not barter for any honor or emolument, that fortune may have conferred upon those, whom she has most highly favored among his contemporaries. In the inward congratulations with which he is requited, some share of regret will indeed occasionally intermix; that his very limited means have frequently impeded the efforts which they were unable to paralyse. But even this consideration is not without a palliative. Not a little of the exultation that he derives, from the triumphs won by his exertions, arises from a consciousness of the depression of that state, in which the obstacles to his success were surmounted, if by a hard, by a glorious struggle.

In adverting to the discouragements which he has experienced, in this protracted struggle, he would not be thought insensible to the admission of other and higher claims, by which his progress has been cheered and animated. In discharging the obligations of this kind by which he feels himself lastingly bound, his first acknowledgments are due to two prelates of the different branches of the United Church, of which they are the greatest ornaments and ablest defenders. To the learn-

ed and acute Archbishop of Dublin he is indebted for the first favorable opinion passed on his work; which gave him a fuller confidence in the soundness of its pretensions. Nor is he less beholden to Bishop Burgess, a prelate as highly distinguished for learning and zeal, for the flattering testimony so often expressed in the various tracts, by which he so ably sustains the cause, wherein the author has the honor to rank him as an auxiliary. Among the proselytes which it has been his good fortune to gain over to a point which has been deemed the weakest in his vindication, it is with no small exultation that he numbers the very learned Dr. Hales; and if he has not been wholly misinformed, the late Bishop Tomline. Of these early impugnors of the disputed passage in St. John; it has been his happiness to see the former converted from an opponent into an advocate, and to hear that the latter admitted his scepticism was shaken, by the strong *a priori* argument, by which it was defended. Nor can the author, in touching upon this subject, refrain from adding his acknowledgments for the favorable testimony borne to his labors, in the works of MM. Horne, Slade, and Townsend; and so kindly expressed upon them by the Dean of Winchester and his late able and lamented son, Mr. Rennel; to whom he ventures to add Archdeacon Nares, and Mr. Norris. To the last invaluable friend, at whose suggestion he engaged in the work, and without whose aid, from the want of books, it would have remained unaccomplished, as the author acknowledges a greater debt, it has called for a higher acknowledgment. It has been his pride to record it, where the memorial of it may last, until the work on which it is inscribed has perished: "Sunt enim testes et erunt sempiterni meritorum tuorum erga me, meæque in te pietatis."



On turning to the less grateful task of noticing the unfavorable reception with which his labors have met in a different quarter; the ungracious subject may be dispatched, with less ceremony. Of the capabilities of the two disputants with whom it has been his hard lot to be implicated, he has been compelled to express himself so fully, and he is sorry to add, so freely, that it precludes the necessity of recurring to the offensive subject. With the works of anonymous and pseudonymous opponents, he follows a fixed principle, in passing them over unnoticed, as not even meriting refutation. If they hold their own labors so very cheap, as to deem them undeserving of an acknowledgement; they cannot take umbrage, that others, who reject the notions to which they blindly adhere, should hold them in no estimation. Had the author's disposition been ever so eager to engage with them in dispute; their exertions would render the task inexpedient or nugatory. The entire artillery of their warfare is drawn from the magazine of German fabric: and had not the weapons with which they engage been often repelled and broken, they would become powerless in the hands of the feeble and unskilful.

From the respite of six years, in which the author has been indulged, since his last assailant has been reduced to silence, he anticipates many days of future quiet. The rapid decline of readers, who take any interest in pursuits requiring minute or laborious investigation, has long convinced him of the expediency of looking for his recompence beyond these superficial times; of employing his exertions on subjects suited to outlive the limited and transitory interest that controversy engenders. In bidding adieu to pursuits, in

which, if he has consumed many weary hours, he has enjoyed some moments of intense gratification, he cannot admit, that in his calculations of success in the object at which he aspired, however it may have eluded his hopes, he has been altogether mistaken. The attempt may have been vain, by which he hoped, at the commencement of his professional career, to revive in the study of the early fathers of the church, the purest standard of religious opinion; as the effort may prove abortive, by which he has labored to defend the traditional Rule of Faith against sudden and unjustifiable innovation. But he will not submit patiently to be told that a country which boasts above all others the noblest institutions for promoting inquiry, and the amplest rewards to stimulate exertion, maintains her national rank, when degraded into a mere school for the study of the continental writers. He can acknowledge no adequate cause, why the nation which took the lead in European literature and science, should sink into a third rank in the great Republic of Letters; and instead of asserting her right to be the oracle, become the mere organ of the opinions of the Germans, French, or Italians.

From the respite of six years, in which the author has been indulged, since his last manuscript has been reduced to silence, he anticipates many days of future quiet. The rapid decline of readers, who take any interest in pursuits requiring minute or laborious investigation, has long convinced him of the expediency of looking for his recompence beyond these superficial times; of employing his exertions on subjects suited to excite the limited and transitory interest that controversy engenders. In bidding adieu to pursuits in



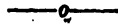
the same time, the fact that the same person can be both a subject and an object of a relation, and that the same relation can be both a subject and an object of a relation, is a fact which is not captured by the traditional logic. This is because the traditional logic is based on the assumption that the subject and the object of a relation are distinct entities, and that the relation itself is a distinct entity. However, in the modern logic, the subject and the object of a relation are not necessarily distinct entities, and the relation itself is not necessarily a distinct entity. This is why the modern logic is able to capture the fact that the same person can be both a subject and an object of a relation, and that the same relation can be both a subject and an object of a relation.

Another important feature of the modern logic is its ability to handle the concept of self-reference. In the traditional logic, self-reference is considered to be a logical error, because it leads to a contradiction. However, in the modern logic, self-reference is not considered to be a logical error, because it does not lead to a contradiction. This is because the modern logic is able to handle the concept of self-reference by using the concept of a self-referential relation. A self-referential relation is a relation in which the subject and the object of the relation are the same entity. This is why the modern logic is able to handle the concept of self-reference without leading to a contradiction.

## REMARKS

ON A

### PASSAGE IN EUSEBIUS.



The circumstances from which the present controversy arose, and the leading points on which it turns, may be collected from the application which is made in the first of the annexed letters, in the publication of which it originated. To enable the reader, however, to enter more immediately into the merits of the dispute, it may not be inexpedient to enter into a brief explanation.

In justification of the part assigned to Eusebius of Cæsarea, of which a more explicit account is given in the subjoined pages ; \* reference had been made † to a letter addressed to him by the Emperor Constantine. ‡ To an extract from this epistle the annexed translation was added in “ the Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate.”

<p>Πρέποι γὰρ καὶ σφάνη τὸ δηλῶσαι τῇ σῇ συνέσει. ὅπως αἱ πενήκοινα συντάξις ἐν διφθέροις ἱκανασκίους εὐσυνέτακτοι τε καὶ πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν εὐ- μετακίνητοι ὑπὸ τοῦ καλλιγράφου καὶ ἀκριβοῦς τῆς τέχνης ἰκανοί ἵεν γραφῆναι κειμήλια· τῶν δὲ ἀλλὰ γράφειν, ἀνὰ μέγεθος τὴν τ'</p>	<p>It seemeth good unto us to submit to your consideration, that you would order to be written, on parchment prepared for the purpose, by able scribes, and accurately skilled in their art, fifty copies, both legible and portable, so as to be use- ful; namely of the sacred scrip-</p>
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\* Infr. p. 129. 117. 35.

† Inquir. into Integr. p. 26.

‡ Vit. Const. IV. xxxvi. 646.

ἰωαννου καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τῆς τῆς ἐκ-  
κλησίας λόγῳ ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι γινώσ-  
κεις.

tures, whereof chiefly, you  
know the preparation and use  
to be necessary to the doctrine  
of the church.

Against this passage of Constantine's letter, selected from a work of considerable extent, as opposing the weakest point to the attacks of an assailant, the hostility of a writer best known as the editor of Strabo, was directed.\* Two terms, at the beginning and close of the passage, from whence some inferences were deduced in support of the charge advanced against Eusebius, were accordingly chosen for his animadversion and amendment.

Having discovered, in the hypercritical talent which the following controversy has since so fully developed, that the preceding version "did not convey the meaning" ascribed to the original; of the first and final clause he proposed the following improved translation. "It seemed proper to signify to your *Intelligence*," &c. . . . namely "of the 'sacred scriptures, of which in particular, most of all, you know the preparation and use to be necessary, in consideration of, having regard to, *the nature and constitution* of the Church."

As the differences, on which a contest was thus raised, turned upon a colloquial phrase; a native Greek was deemed no unsuitable judge of its merits. One having been engaged at the time in delivering lectures upon his vernacular language in London; the application was made to him, by the author, which is conveyed in the first Letter of the subjoined CORRESPONDENCE. The requisition there made to him, produced the following

\* Case of Eusebius examined, by the Rev. T. Falconer, A.M.

translations in Modern Greek and Italian, of the contested passage.

*The above Extract translated into Modern Greek.*

*The above Version translated into Modern Greek.*

Καὶ φάνη πρέπει τὸ ἵνα δηλοποιή-  
σωμεν εἰς τὴν σύνεσιν σὺ, ὅπως  
προσέξῃς ἵνα γραφῶσι πενήντα σω-  
μάτια εἰς ἡτοιμασμένας διφθέρας  
εὐκολοανάγνωστα καὶ εὐμεταχειρίστα,  
ἀπὸ τεχνίων καλλιγράφων καὶ ἀκρι-  
βῶς ἐργαζομένων τὴν τέχνην· ἐξ ἐκεί-  
νων δηλαδὴ τῶν θείων Γραφῶν, τῶν  
ὁποίων μάλιστα ἐστὶν γινώσκεις, ὅτι ἡ  
ἐπισκευὴ καὶ ἡ χρῆσις εἶναι ἀναγκ-  
αία εἰς τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

Μᾶς φαίνεται πρέπειν ἵνα φέρωμεν  
ὑπὸ τὴν προσοχὴν σὺ τὸ ἵνα προσ-  
τάξῃς ἵνα γραφῶσιν εἰς περιγραμ-  
μένας, ἐπὶ τελεῖ ἡτοιμασμένας, ἀπὸ  
καλλιγράφων καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐμπεύρων εἰς  
τὴν τέχνην, πενήντα κώδικας εὐκολο-  
διαβάτους καὶ προχείρους, ὥστε ἵνα εἴ-  
ναι χρήσιμοι· δηλαδὴ ἀπὸ τῶν θεί-  
ων Γραφῶν ἐκείνων τῶν ὁποίων μάλισ-  
τα γνωρίζεις ὅτι ἡ ἐτοιμασις καὶ ἡ  
χρῆσις ἵνα εἶναι ἀναγκαῖα εἰς τὴν  
διδασκαλίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

*The above M. Greek Version translated into Italian.*

*The above M. Greek Version translated into Italian.*

Perciocchè parve necessario no-  
tificarlo alla vostra prudenza,  
affinchè possiate far scrivere  
da periti caligrafi ed accurati  
nell' esercizio della loro arte,  
cinquanta volumi in pergamene  
ben preparate, in carattere chi-  
aro, e facili nell'uso;.....  
cioè di quelle sacre scritture,  
delle quali principalmente e la  
reparazione e l' uso voi sapete  
essere necessario alla dottrina  
della chiesa.

Pare bene a noi di sottoporre  
alla vostra considerazione, che  
voi ordinaste che fossero scritti,  
in pergamene a tal effetto pre-  
parate, da abili copisti ed accu-  
ratamente periti nella loro arte,  
50 codici, facili alla lettura e  
portibili, tantochè siano d'uti-  
lità;.....cioè delle sacre  
scritture, di cui principalmente  
voi sapete la preparazione e  
l'uso essere necessario alla dot-  
trina della chiesa.

Although the author, in thus committing his  
cause into other hands, saw that it suffered some  
diminution of its force, as the sequel of the con-  
troversy will abundantly evince; yet as the deci-  
sion of the umpire, to whom it was referred, was  
sufficiently strong in his favor, he deemed it ne-  
cessary to publish it, without observation. He



however added a POSTSCRIPT, with the object of disposing of the subsidiary objections which had been raised against his hypothesis by its assailant.

The "EXAMINER," after digesting the subject of the CORRESPONDENCE and its POSTSCRIPT, returned after five years with a reply;\* in which the dullness and emptiness exhibited in the discussion, were abundantly made up by the silly presumption displayed in the title. Having been thus drawn fully forth; and having committed himself in a production of some extent; the author laid the controversy at rest in the "ADDITIONAL REMARKS," with which his first reply is succeeded.

However it may be conceived, that the discussion in the following pages is pursued to an unnecessary extent; the importance of some points, which, independent of the main question respecting Eusebius's influence on the Sacred Text, it tends to establish will, he trusts, redeem it from such an imputation. In the lights shed upon the two documents, to which his "Remarks" are confined;—the Imperial Letters, for the Instauration of the Scriptures, and the Restitution of the Church;—some of the most interesting and important incidents in ecclesiastical antiquity are illustrated. And in the determination of the contested point, respecting the language in which the Constitution, issued by Constantines for the first establishment of Christianity, were promulgated; some obscurities in their subject may be effectually cleared up, and the main difficulties in which the history of the Sacred Canon is involved, be *definitively* settled.

\* "The absurd Hypothesis, that Eusebius of Caesarea, Bishop and Historian was an editor and corrupter of the Scripture, exposed."

## LETTER TO M. CALBO.

*Great Cambridge Street, Nov. 10, 1818.*

My dear Sir,

If the joint work, in which we are engaged, gives me any title to the common privileges of fellow-laborers in the same field; you will pardon my so far presuming upon it, as to trouble you with the present application. The two pages which I enclose are taken from a tract, containing some animadversions on a translation of part of the Instrument of Constantine the Great, directed to Eusebius of Cesarea, inserted in "the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate," p. 26; which, some months since, you did me the favor of accepting.

As the version which I have there given, if it possess any fidelity, should bear a second change, without losing its likeness to the original, may I solicit, as a favor, that you would submit it to the process; and when you have turned it into Modern Greek, compare it with the text of Eusebius, and then state the result of the experiment. I am fully aware to what risk I expose myself, in submitting the work of a coarse artist to so nice a scrutiny; but as I must be no small gainer, if the result prove successful, on this touchstone let it be tried.

In the animadversions of "the Examiner," whom I have not the honor to know, either by fame or person, I wish only to draw your attention to the terms *σύνεσις* and *λόγος*: on which words, particularly the latter, I should feel highly flattered if you would favor me with your opinion, as on them particularly depends the inference which I



have deduced from the Instrument in Eusebius. The former word, in the phrase τὸ δηλῶσαι τῇ σῇ συνείδει, I am now informed, signifies "Your *Intelligence*," the term being used as a title, analogous to Your Eminence, or Your Reverence: the latter word, in the phrase τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, I am further informed, signifies "the *nature* or *constitution* of the Church." The effect of this interpretation of the passage upon my argument, is perfectly obvious, without being formally specified. If, indeed, the latter term, coupled, as it is, with θεῶν γραφῶν, does not mean *doctrine*; I am as willing to admit, that the inference, which I have deduced, will only follow by straining, from the context and subject of the letter; as I am prepared to maintain, that if it does, it compels the inference, which I have deduced; respecting the *discretionary* power, vested in Eusebius, to select, out of the mass of canonical and apocryphal scriptures, "those chiefly which he conceived to be useful and necessary to the *doctrine* of the Church."

If I may be allowed to assume that in which Eusebius nearly bears me out; that the Instrument before us was written in Latin, and has been translated by that historian into Greek, I believe the controversy between "the examiner" and myself, may be at once laid at rest. For while no Latin word, which expresses *nature* or *constitution*, could have suggested the term λόγος; that word would be naturally suggested by any term by which *doctrine* is usually expressed. And in the same view of the subject, on taking τὸ δηλῶσαι τῇ σῇ συνείδει, with the explanatory phrase, in the context, τῆς σῆς ἐπιμελείας ἔργον τοῦτο γινέσται; the proper force of the phrase may be precisely determined, from an edict of the same age, and derived from the same

authority, which is preserved by Lactantius,\* and has been translated by Eusebius.† In this Instrument, "*solicitudini tuæ significanda esse*," of the Latin is rendered by Eusebius, δηλώσαι τῇ σὴ ἐπιμελείᾳ. In this passage, were the Greek ambiguous, the Latin would decide the point in dispute; for it appears to me, to be just as absurd to assume, that *solicitududo* can mean *a title*, as it would be to deny, that it signifies *a quality*, which was to be exercised in discharging the duty, which the Emperor imposed. By this single quotation, "the nature and constitution" of the very pretty puerility with which "the examiner" seems to have been so amusingly captivated, appears to me, to be sufficiently exposed; without any waste of research into ecclesiastical antiquity, on the subject of the titles of the bishops of those early times.

On the *grammatical* skill which "the examiner" evinces, in his attempts at translation and illustration, it cannot be necessary to add a word.

Though I consider it no small punishment to have his shame exposed to such eyes as your own; yet as, in strict justice, so barbarous a murderer of the finest language in existence deserves a retribution proportionable to his crime, I commit him into your hands, to be dealt by as he deserves. Begging of you to forgive the trouble, which I give you by this application, believe me,

My dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

FRED. NOLAN.

\* Lactant. de Mort. Persec. cap. xlviii. Vol. II. p. 244. ed. Dufr.

† Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. X. cap. v. p. 481. ed. Cant.



## REPLY OF M. CALBO.

Signor mio,

Le invio a seconda del suo desiderio la *traduzione* in Greco Moderno del passo in Eusebio, da lei citato nella sua opera, *On the Int. of the Gr. Vulgate*, e la mia *opinione* sul significato delle parole σύνεσις e λόγος: benchè io non sappia di quanto peso la sia.

Σύνεσις.—S'io non m'inganno, questa parola non ebbe da principio che il significato di *concorso* o *riunione* di oggetti fisici, (Omero); e che l'idea di comparare, di riflettere, di giudicare, di scegliere, riunendo o combinando colla mente due o più idee non le si fosse aggiunta che verso il tempo in cui la Grecia si diede alla filosofia (Plat. Arist. Xen. mem.) onde significò allora, come significa oggidì, *prudenza, intelligenza, buon senso, raziocinio, cognizione*, e più precisamente, ciò che Condillac nella sua logica intende per *le jugement*. Non credo che alcun altro significato le si aggiungesse, se non qualche anno dopo lo stabilimento della Chiesa; e non prima della morte di Costantino, poichè i Vescovi d'allora non si davano altro titolo che quello di ἀδελφοί. E sembra che dall'abuso che quel principe fece della parola, nelle sue lettere ai Vescovi (vedi ancora in Eus. de Vit. Const. Lib. III. cap. lx. lxi. lxii.) le si desse in seguito quelle tinte, che (permessa la differenza delle persone) hanno le parole di ἐμψέρας φιλανθρωπίας, περρότητος, καλοκαγαθίας, φιλαγαθίας, &c. parlando a un Monarca, le quali non sono usate come tanti titoli, nè pienamente significano *humanitas, mansuetudo, benignitas, e bonitas*. E ciò in quanto alla parola Σύνεσις.

Ora passando alla parola:

Λόγος.—Non mi ricordo alcun passo dove la significhi *costituzione*, o *natura*, se da noi però si eccettuano quelle controversie nelle quali i teologi caddero, da chè, involupando la loro scienza nel laberinto delle parole, cercarono una spiegazione dei primi versi del primo capitolo di St. Giovanni. Però credo, che dovrebbe ella, Signor mio, astenersi dalle loro opinioni, e prendere per giudice il suo autore, il quale ha dedicato gran parte del primo libro della sua Storia nella definizione della espressione ὁ λόγος τῷ Θεῷ, e dove, s'io non erro, valendosi di Salomone, sembra che egli tenda a credere, che significhi *sapienza*, *knowledge*, *wisdom*: e verso la fine di quel libro dice s'io ben mi rammento, πάντας δὲ αὐρίον σύναξον τὰς πολίτας, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐρμηνεύσω τὸν λόγον τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ΣΠΕΡΩ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν ΛΟΓΟΝ τῆς ζωῆς— annoverando quindi tutto quello su di cui intendeva di predicare, mostra che non intendeva di parlare nè della *natura*, nè della *costituzione* della vita,—almeno così a me pare.

Fra i miei dubbj ancora v'è questo, (e lo credo il maggiore) se l'originale sia in Greco o in Latino: a me pare in Latino, poichè vedo che il greco abbandonando i proprj modi gli va dietro, come nel μέγιστον πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων τῇ ἀγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀνατίθειν ἑαυτό, dove si vede la servilità al *sese adjunct*: e nel τῶν Θεῶν δηλαδὴ γραφῶν, nel qual passo non avendo potuto dare alle idee il medesimo ordine che hanno nel Latino, si è trovato necessitato di aggiungere quanto gli rimaneva accompagnandolo col δηλαδὴ. E quindi anche poichè credo che sia stile di ogni traduttore il quale tenti d'essere fedele, l'usare in mancanza di parola propria della perifrasi, onde la parola *vehiculorum* è resa da ὀχημάτων εἰς διακομιδὴν. Forse anche questa Lettera fu scritta di mano dell'Imperatore, ed allora non so quanto egli in iscrivere ad uno che intendeva il Latino, trovasse preferibile tutt' altra lingua che la propria, nella quale



egli poteva nettamente, e senza fatica, dare anima a suoi pensieri. Quando dunque questo documento sia Latino, allora la questione si deve fare sul significato delle parole, *prudential*, *apparatus*, ed *ecclesia*; vi aggiungo la parola *apparatus* poichè il greco porta ἐπισκευή, il che significa *instauratio*; e forse ho torto nel non conoscere questo altro significato di ἐπισκευή; o forse è colpa dei copisti e bisognerà leggere σκηνή, o παρασκευή, o κάλλισκευή, o forse anche διασκευή. E quest' ultima non sarebbe totalmente fuori del proposito, poichè nel capitolo seguente dice ἐν πολυτελῶς ἡσκευμένοις (τεύχεσι), *magnifice exornatis*.

Circa la parte grammaticale v' è poco da dire. Il passo non è per nulla intricato. Eccone la costruzione: ὡς (Θείων γραφῶν) μάλιστα (especially) γινώσκεις τὴν τ' ἐπισκευὴν καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας: dove ella sa bene, da qualunque grammatica, che questo ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι governa il dativo, onde in costruzione, non si può dividere dal τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

Eccole, Signor mio, le mie OPINIONI, ne faccia quell' uso che ella crede, benchè a mio parere ella farebbe meglio dividendo queste pagine in tanti pezzi di servirsene per segni quando si diverte a leggere qualche *monthly publication*. E ch' io non le sia stato parziale ne' miei giudicj, ne sarà persuaso dando un'occhiata alle qui appiè\* strette traduzioni del passo, una è del Greco d'Eusebio, l'altra del suo Inglese; e poichè forse il greco moderno potrebbe eccitare nuovi dubbj, le mando ancora una traduzione in Italiano.

S' io posso servirla in qualche modo non mi risparmi. Frattanto mi creda

Signor mio,

tutto tuo,

A. CALBO.

\* The translations are *prefixed*, by the editor, to the present remarks.

## TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE LETTER.

My dear Sir,

I send you according to your desire, a translation, in Modern Greek, of the passage in Eusebius, cited in your work on the Integr. of the Gr. Vulgate, and my opinion on the signification of the words *σύνεσις* and *λόγος*; though I know not of what weight it may be.

*Σύνεσις.* If I am not deceived, this word had originally but the signification of an union or course of physical objects, (Hom.) and that the notion of comparing, reflecting, judging, selecting, reuniting and combining, by the mind, was not annexed to it, until about the time, when Greece applied to Philosophy, (Plat. Arist. Xen. mem.) from whence it then signified, as it signifies now, *prudence, intelligence, good sense, ratiocination*, and more precisely what Condillac understands, in his Logic, by *le jugement*. I do not believe that any other meaning was annexed to it, unless shortly after the establishment of the Church, and not previously to the death of Constantine; since the Bishops of those times are given no other title, than that of *ἀδελφοί*. And it seems, that from the use which that prince made of the word, in his letters to the Bishops, (See Euseb. Vit. Const. Lib. III. cap. lx. lxi. lxii) it consequently received some tincture of what (allowing for the difference of the persons), the words *ὑμετέρας φιλανθρωπίας, πραότητος, καλοκαγαθίας, φιλαγαθίας, &c.* have, in speaking to a monarch; which words are not used as so many titles, nor signify fully, *humanitas, mansuetudo, benignitas*, and *bonitas*. So much for the word *Σύνεσις*.

Proceeding next to the word—



Λόγος.—I remember no passage, in which this word signifies *constitution* or *nature*, if indeed certain controversies be excepted, into which Theologians fall, when involving their learning in a labyrinth of words, they endeavor to explain the first chapter of St. John. I therefore believe, that you, my dear Sir, should have abstained from their opinions, and have taken the author, for your guide, who has devoted a great part of his first book to an explanation of the expression ὁ λόγος τῷ θεῷ; and where, if I err not, availing himself of Solomon's assistance, it would seem, that he inclines to believe, it signifies *sapientia*, *knowledge*, *wisdom*:—and towards the end of the same book, he says, if I remember well, πάντας δὲ αὐρίου συνάξον τὰς πολίτας, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐξημεύσω τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ΣΠΕΡΩ τὸν ΔΟΓΟΝ τῆς ζωῆς: thence enumerating the whole of what he intended to preach, he shews that he intended to speak neither of the *nature*, nor the *constitution* of life: as far atleast as my judgment extends.

Among my doubts, there is one, (and I believe it the greatest), respecting the point, whether the original was in Greek or Latin:—it appears to me—in Latin: because I perceive, that the Greek, abandoning his proper manner, gets beside the subject: as in μέγιστον πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀγνωτάτη ἀνατίθεικεν ἑαυτόν, where there is observable, a servile adherence to *sese adjunxit*: and also in τῶν θείων δηλαδὴ γραφῶν, in which passage, not being able to give his ideas the same order, which they possess in the Latin, he found himself necessitated to connect the remnant of the sense, by uniting it by δηλαδὴ: and besides this, because I believe it to be peculiar to the stile of every translator, who endeavors to be faithful, to use periphrases, from wanting appropriate words: whence the term *ve-*

*hicolorum* is rendered by ὀχημάτων εἰς διακομίδην. Perhaps also this letter was written by the hand of the Emperor; and then, I cannot see, how, in writing to one who understood Latin, he could find any language preferable to his native tongue; in which he could express himself tersely, and without difficulty, and give, as it were, life to his thoughts. Since therefore this document may have been Latin, the question should turn on the signification of the words *prudentia*, *apparatus*, and *ecclesia*. I add the word *apparatus*, because the Greek uses the word ἐπισκευή: which signifies *instauratio*: and perhaps I am wrong in not knowing that other meaning of the word ἐπισκευή: or probably it is an error of the copyists, and that we should read σκευή, or παρασκευή, or κατασκευή, or perhaps even διασκευή. And this last would not be wholly beside the purpose, since in the following chapter we find, ἐν πολυτελῶς ἡσκημένοις (τεύχεσι) *magnifice exornatis*.

Concerning the subject of *grammar*, there is little to be said. The passage is in no respect intricate. The following is the construction of it: ὡς θεῶν γραφῶν μάλιστα (especially) γινώσκεις τὴν τ' ἐπισκευὴν, καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας: where, you well know, that by any grammar whatever, the phrase ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι governs the dative, and of course, cannot be divided from τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

Such, my dear Sir, are my *OPINIONS*; make what use of them you think fit: though, in my opinion, it would be best to divide these pages, into so many pieces, and make use of them for markers when you next amuse yourself, in reading some monthly publication. That I am not partial to you, in my judgment, you will be persuaded, on casting a glance over the close translations



of the passage, which I subjoin:\* one of the Greek of Eusebius, another of your English, and lest the Modern Greek should excite new doubts, I further send a translation in Italian.

If I can serve you in any respect, do not spare me: in the mean time believe me,

Very truly yours,

A. CALBO.

#### LETTER TO M. CALBO,

IN CONSEQUENCE OF RECEIVING THE FOREGOING  
LETTER.

My dear Sir,

I know not whether my first thanks are due to yourself, for your valuable communication on the disputed passage in Eusebius; or to the person, who by objecting to my translation, has produced so singular a confirmation of my arguments, from so high an authority. How much strength my hypothesis gains, by the advantage of a juster translation, and the new light which you have cast upon the subject, will be obvious, even to the most purblind of my opponents. By fixing, with logical precision, the force of the term *ζύεσις*, and giving a determinate sense to the latter part of the passage, it is needless to observe, how fully the inference is confirmed, which I had deduced, respecting the discretionary power of selecting and amending, which Eusebius might conceive

\* See note p. 10.

himself required to exercise, in discharging the duty imposed on him by the Emperor.

But it is particularly from the meaning which is ascribed to the term *ἐπισκευή*, that my hypothesis derives confirmation. If I am allowed, to take the comprehensive sense of *refectio* and *instauratio*, which is ascribed to this word, the evidence of the document is as clear as it is complete, that there was a necessity acknowledged of repairing and solemnly setting forth the sacred scriptures; and if the injunction of the Emperor was carried into effect, that it was accomplished by the intervention of Eusebius. And this sense, which is exacted by the proper force of the term, is not only confirmed by the external evidence of the two writers before us, who represent the sacred text, as having so extensively suffered,\* in the preceding persecutions, as to render this reparation necessary, but by the internal evidence of the document itself, in which the *instauratio* of the Scriptures, as the necessary cause, is previously specified, to the contingent effect, their use to the doctrine of the church, to which end their preparation could not in any respect have contributed. Nor ought it to be forgotten, what you, my dear Sir, must clearly see, that the question whether the document was originally composed in Latin, or in Greek, can have no effect on these inferences; as whether the term *ἐπισκευή* or *instauratio* be adopted, the inference, which I deduce, is alike unavoidable; though, from the use which has been made of the latter term, by a celebrated writer,†

\* Euseb. Hist. Eccl. VIII. ii. 377. Lactant. de Mort. Pers. xii. 199. ed. Dufr.

† S. Hier. Cat. Script. Eccl. Tom. I. p. 131. "Euzoius—episcopus, plurimo labore corruptam bibliothecam Origenis, et Pamphili, in membranis instaurare conatus est," &c. Id. 2.<sup>a</sup> Marc. Ep. cxli. Tom. III. p. 398.—"quam [bibliotheca



who lived near the times of Eusebius, and devoted his attention particularly to sacred criticism, I retain no doubt of its being the identical term, employed in the Instrument, translated by Eusebius.

For my own part, after the striking remarks which you have made on the internal evidence of the Instrument, no doubt remains on my mind that it was originally framed in Latin: and if you feel any hesitation on this point, one consideration will probably confirm you in an opinion, in which I feel myself established by your observations. It is in fact only necessary to my hypothesis to suppose, that the Instrument, by whomever drawn up, was submitted for the approbation of the Emperor; and this being granted, it is not to be denied, that it was submitted in Latin, as Constantine was acquainted with no other language. As indeed the emperor and bishop, between whom the communication was made, were respectively acquainted with that language; the difficulty really lies, in conceiving how a different language should be chosen, as the medium of communication, of which one of the parties possessed no knowledge. But the concession being once made, that Latin was the language in which the Instrument was originally composed, the contest may be brought to a speedy termination. Until it can be proved that *prudentia tua* was 'a title of honor or respect,' and some Latin word be discovered, which is a middle term between λόγος and *natura* or *constitutio*, the puerility advanced by the examiner does not possess even plausibility to entitle it to a serious refutation.

ex parte corruptam, Acacius dehinc et Euzoius, in membranis instaurare conati sunt."

Though I consider the question, when reduced to these grounds, as not admitting of a moment's deliberation ; I am far from allowing that it is necessary to try it by such a criterion, in order to produce a decisive sentence in my favor. If it is not decided, on the supposition, that the Instrument is a *translation* ; it must be tried by the *analogy* of similar expressions. With the examiner it consequently rests, to produce an example more apposite and unequivocal, than that which I have adduced from the Latin edict of Constantine, and the Greek translation of Eusebius. On the success which has hitherto attended him in his attempts, it is unnecessary to add a remark, after the specimen, with which you have been presented. To you, my dear Sir, I have only to observe, that the phrase *δηλώσαι τῇ συνίσει ὑμῶν* of Eusebius, in which he discovers the *titles* of atleast five bishops, would be just as inadmissible in English as it is in Greek ; and could only be taken in the sense which he ascribes it, by violating the commonest principles of grammar ; by confounding the singular with the plural, and the personal with the possessive pronoun.

After the single observation which you have made upon the subject of translation, it would be superfluous to offer a word in vindication of my version of the contested passage. Though I cannot with truth affirm, after having received your translation, that my own might not be greatly improved, were I at liberty to retouch it ; yet I believe I may without vanity assert, that were I to approach more nearly to the Greek or Latin phraseology, I must wholly depart from the English idiom ; and that were I to adopt the alterations which the Examiner proposes as improvements, I should



be so far from conveying the sense of the original, that I should not even express myself in intelligible language.

With the most grateful sense of your kind attention, believe me,

My dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

FRED. NOLAN.

## POSTSCRIPT.

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If the reader is unacquainted with the peculiar formalities by which the Examiner has introduced himself to my notice, the display of his critical pretensions, in the foregoing Correspondence will, I believe, sufficiently justify me in dismissing him, with the same good breeding, which characterised his introduction to my acquaintance. The following observations are principally transcribed from the margin of his own work; to which they were committed, on the same evening, that it fell into my hands. In the time which has intervened, since that period, nothing has occurred, to induce me either to alter or extend the observations, which arose on the first perusal of his diatribe.

On the subject of *translation*, against which the first hostilities of my opponent are directed, my sentiments are elsewhere expressed at large. Of whatever value they may be deemed, I have good authority for asserting, and shall produce it if required, that the manner in which he wrests τῶ λόγῳ from its dependence on ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι, and offers ἡ σύνεσις ὑμῶν, as synonymous with ‘Your Intelligences,’ exhibits a knowledge of Greek, which would disgrace a school-boy who had exercised his talent for two years in the acquirement of that language.

The translation of Eusebius being vindicated; it would be perfectly nugatory to offer a word, in vindication of the *inference*, deduced from his assertions. The examiner professes his inability to

“discover in the letter” more than an allusion “to externals, to the parchment, the writing, the size, the transmission of the copies.” This difficulty will probably disappear, when the *Lexicon* is consulted, on the meaning of *ἱπισκευή*. And when the objector is furnished with as much information as may be thus cheaply acquired, if it is carried to the interpretation of Eusebius, it will teach him to appreciate the value of his assertion; that “Constantine does not *allude* to the diminution of the number of copies, nor say that it was his intention to supply the place of those which were destroyed, in the persecution of Diocletian.”

But it is further plain to the examiner, that Eusebius compiled no edition of the Scriptures; for he gravely demands, “*what kind* of an edition of the Scriptures could that be called, which was a copy of the Scriptures, with some erasures?” Probably a castigated edition; but I humbly apprehend not less an edition, because it was a mutilated edition; unless it is possible to mutilate books, so as to destroy their generic distinctions. But a little lower down, by the assistance of the examiner’s perspicacity, “*we see*, why the work of Ethalius had the name of an edition, and why the copies of Eusebius cannot receive it;” the former having published a list of scripture-texts, and “having prefixed to the several parts of his work, a prologue or preface.” To prove the truth of this sagacious rule, let us apply it to any known case, as that of Elzevir, or Stevens. According to this infallible criterion, their various publications of the Scriptures “cannot receive the name of an edition;” and the reason is obvious; *because* they have not “prefixed to the various parts of the work, a prologue or preface.”

The existence of an edition by Eusebius, being thus effectually disproved, I am next told, that its "dispersion is just as fanciful." It will however appear from the following observation, that the same premises, and an acquaintance with the true state of the sacred text, have led atleast one learned person, who had no hypothesis to support, to conclusions not very remote, from those adopted by Mr. Nolan. "*Sed et eadem occasione,*" says the learned Wetstein, in reference to the subject before us, "*accidisse puto, ut libri illi pauci veteres, qui ex incendio Diocletiani manibusque traditorum salvi evaserant, præ novis istis et pretiosis REGIIS CODICIBUS sorderent, atque vilescerent, passimque seponerentur, sicque paulatim neglecti interirent.*"\* And if this statement be remote from the truth, it rests with the Examiner to account for *the fact*, advanced on the same authority, in "the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate," p. 34. n. <sup>65</sup>: that every existing copy of the New Testament contains internal evidence of having descended from Eusebius's edition.

On the subject of the alterations said to be introduced by Eusebius into the text, this is no place to engage in a controversy. The Examiner is of opinion, that I have failed in *proving* the charge against Eusebius, and labors hard to induce others to believe, that I have not accomplished what I never attempted. The fundamental position, which I undertook to establish, stands thus; "*the probabilities are decidedly in favor of Eusebius having expunged, rather than the catholics having inserted the disputed passages, in the sacred text,*" p. 27. And I am now told, that I have failed in attaining this object, because I

\* Wetst. Proleg. Nov. Test. Tom. I. p. 70.



have not proved that to be a *fact*, which I merely pledged myself to shew was a *probability*. May I beg to be informed, if the objections of the Examiner be deemed deserving of a reply, what it may be which I am concerned in refuting? However unsatisfactory my hypothesis may be deemed, it leaves every other, by which it may be opposed, involved in difficulties, for which the Examiner has neither found nor attempted a solution. Of the five remarkable passages which are missing in the earliest manuscripts, two were certainly omitted in Eusebius's canons; and the remaining three were evidently opposed to his known Anti-Sabellian antipathies. If the act of their expunction be ascribed to him, the indisputable fact of their removal, from the sacred text, becomes a proof of the truth of my assumption. If the act be ascribed to any other hand, it constitutes a difficulty, which is without a solution; for it is thus inexplicable, how those passages, and only those, should have been suppressed, for which *Eusebius* could have possessed no partiality.

The honesty displayed in the next stricture, in which the Examiner passes to page 86. for a proof of "the same conclusion" which is advanced in p. 26. without any notice of the change of the subject, will prove his moral qualifications, in polemics, to be nearly on a level with his intellectual. This change of scene introduces Dr. Lardner upon the stage, to tell us "what Euthalius did, and what he did not do:" the whole of whose information is rather unluckily imparted, at second-hand, from Wetstein. "By his help," we are accordingly informed, that "Euthalius, compared his editions with what? with correct copies of *Eusebius*? no such thing: but with the exact copies,

in the library of Palestine," the "name of Eusebius does not occur."

The learning and accuracy of this assertion, will best appear, by referring the point in dispute to the author in question. The subscriptions ascribed to Euthalius, stand as follows; Ed. Cath. Ep. p. 513. ἀντεβλήθη δὲ τῶν Πραξέων καὶ Καθολικῶν Ἐπιστολῶν βιβλίον πρὸς τὰ ἀκριβῆ ἀντίγραφα, τὸς ἐν Καισερείᾳ βιβλιοθήκης, Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου. Ed. Epist. Paul. e Cod. Coisl. 202. ἀντεβλήθη ἡ βίβλος πρὸς τὸ ἐν Καισερείᾳ ἀντίγραφον, τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ ἁγίου Παμφίλου· χειρὶ γεγραμμένον αὐτοῦ. Admitting the latter Scholium, as authority for the true appellation of the Cesarean library, down to the period when the manuscript was written; it appears to have been called *from Pamphilus*, who founded and endowed it. This much information being attained, on the accuracy of which the Examiner's favorite, Dr. Lardner, may be consulted; the antecedent scholium loses the ambiguity, which it may possess to the Examiner, or any other half-informed reader; and as Εὐσεβίου, cannot in consistency with the sense be governed by βιβλιοθήκης, it may now be evident to himself, that it should be put in apposition with that word, and be governed by ἀντίγραφα. The copies with which Euthalius collated his edition of the Acts and Catholic Epistles, (for it may be necessary to apprise the Examiner, that they were collated with very different copies from those followed in the Pauline Epistles,) if any attention be due to Euthalius himself, were "the correct copies of Eusebius." And that there is but one sense, in which the author of this assertion could have intended it to be understood, I apprehend the Examiner will not venture to question, however he may dispute, that I have given the true construction of the scholium subjoined to the Catholic Epistles. That Euthalius, in stating the



authority on which his own accuracy rested, and quoting "the correct copies," of one, who had not only introduced the first great innovation into the sacred text, by his sections, but who was a professed collater and correcter of scripture, could have intended the assertion should be taken in a sense which was equally applicable to the Gospel of the Nazarenes, or any other heretical work in Eusebius's possession, or deposited in the Cesarean library, is an absurdity, which it will be time enough to refute, when the Examiner has given it the sanction of his own high authority.

But appended to the former, there is another difficulty, of equal magnitude, to be solved ; for the objector proceeds—"did Eusebius prepare fifty-one or two, or more copies, and deposit these, as a testimony against himself, in the same library?" Whatever scepticism be indulged on the subject of Eusebius's copies, I apprehend, it will hardly be denied, that they were taken from some exemplar. And however the Examiner may dream of certain copies of Origen and Pamphilus, preserved carefully on the shelves of a public library in Cesarea, after a persecution had raged with aggravated fury, in Palestine, which aimed particularly at the extermination of the sacred writings ; some better evidence of their existence must be produced, than has hitherto been advanced, before it be taken as granted. The testimony of Euthalius, when fairly adduced, wholly discounts such a supposition. Had such copies existed in Cesarea, when he visited the library, for the purpose of collating them, he must have made some mention of them, in his edition ; but the genuine manuscripts of his works, collated by

Zacagni, contain no notice of any copies, but those of Eusebius. If we may now meet the objector on his own grounds, a few interrogatories may be proposed, for his own solution, in the answers to which he will find all that he is in search of.

If the copies of Origen or Pamphilus were preserved at Cesarea, how came they to survive the Diocletian persecution; and at what other price could the books of that library be preserved, but by surrendering all the copies of the Scriptures? If those copies remained until the times of Euthalius, how comes it that he preserves no testimony of their existence; while the interested transcribers of his works so well knew the advantage which they derived, from having their pedigree traced to the autographs of Saint Pamphilus. If the Bibles transmitted to Constantine were transcribed from copies which had undergone no preparation by the hand of Eusebius, how comes it to pass, that every copy of the Constantinopolitan text possesses the Eusebian sections and titles; were these also introduced into the text, by transcribing the copies of Pamphilus? When the Examiner has exercised his ingenuity, in answering these interrogatories, he will probably perceive, that the questions which he has proposed require no solution, which may not be found in the testimony of Euthalius, by him who knows the true appellation of the Cesarean library.

To the remarks on the edition of Athanasius, it cannot be necessary to offer a reply, after what has been advanced respecting that of Eusebius. That its existence should be disputed by him who places the essence of an edition, in a prologue or preface prefixed, can no more excite wonder, than it deserves refutation.



But now for the decision of the controversy; which a quotation from Lardner, and the testimony of a scribe, brings to this summary conclusion; "I shall only add, that if Eusebius had done what Mr. N. imputes to him, even the scribes themselves might have furnished the means of detecting the fraud." And as an instance, alike corroborate of the justice of this conclusion, and illustrative of the credibility of the witnesses, on whose testimony it depends, we are referred to the scholium which has been already transcribed from Euthalius's edition of the Pauline Epistles.\*

I pass over the polemical experience or address, which rests the decision of a controversy on the subscription of a manuscript: and which selects one of Euthalius for the purpose, the copies of whose work are notoriously falsified. The result of such an undertaking is just what might be expected; the good luck of the examiner has thrown in his way, a testimony, which amply displays his judgment, in the choice of a witness.

When this scholium first fell in my way, the quackery employed in its fabrication was so manifest, that though I paid Wetstein's judgment the respect of giving it a place in my notes, I studiously avoided resting any part of my argument upon its authority. The means of inquiring into its authenticity were not then in my power; the following are the proofs, which a short investigation has since produced in its favor.

In the very first assertion which the author makes, ἡ γραφή η̅ ἡ ἐξεδίμην κατὰ δύναμιν γιγνόμενη τὰς τῶ ἀνέχου Παύλου τῶ ἀποστόλου, he is convicted of falsehood; the first person who divided the Pauline Epistles in this manner was *Euthalius*, many years after Pamphilus's

\* Vid. supr. p. 23. l. 10.

death; and from his text the manuscript was undoubtedly transcribed, whereas this scholium pronounces it a copy from the *autograph of Pamphilus*.

This scholium is further negated by the common consent of the copies of Euthalius, which preserve no trace of such a reference to the copies of Pamphilus: the reader will determine, how far it is probable such a testimony would be suppressed, if found in his genuine manuscripts. The author of this fabrication betrays his fraud, by transcribing the following passage from Euthalius's prologue to the Acts,\* εὐχῇ τῇ ὑπὲρ ἑμῶν (for so he writes it) τὴν συμπεριφορὰν κομιζόμενος; whereas the Prologue to the Acts was not composed or published, until a considerable period after the Pauline Epistles, of which this scholium is an appendage.

The truth is, that the origin of this stupid forgery is easily traced to the declaration of Euthalius: which is of itself adequate to convict its author of imposture; καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπιστολὴν προτάξομεν τὴν τῶν κεφαλαιῶν ἐκδοσιν, ἐν τῶν ζωφωτάτων πατέρων ἡμῶν πιστοποιημένην:† in this anonymous Father, and the plain testimony subjoined by Euthalius to his edition of the Acts, the honest contriver of this scholium soon identified "*Saint Pamphilus*." The reader will determine for himself, how far it is probable the true subscription Εὐσεβίου τῷ Παμφίλῳ, subjoined to the Acts and Catholic Epistles, might have given rise to the spurious, τῷ Ἁγίῳ Παμφίλῳ, subjoined to the Pauline Epistles: by an easy substitution of Εὐζεβῆς, for Εὐσεβίῳ, which soon migrated into Ἁγίῳ.

Let the reader now take a retrospect of the external and internal evidence adduced on the subject of this scholium; let him observe, that, notwith-

\* Vid. Euthal. p. 428. l. 3. ed. Zacagn.

† Id. p. 528.

standing the extraordinary information which it conveys, it is unacknowledged by any other manuscript of Euthalius; that it identifies, as the work of Pamphilus, what Euthalius himself ascribes to some anonymous writer; that it annexes to the Pauline Epistles a passage from the prologue of a work, which *had not appeared*, until those Epistles had been some time published: and that while it possesses the improvements, *introduced by Euthalius into the text, many years after Pamphilus's death*, it professes to be copied from *an autograph of that ancient martyr*; he will then be enabled to appreciate the adequacy of the testimony by which my hypothesis has been subverted, and the competency of the Examiner to deliver any opinion on those subjects, upon which he so confidently dogmatizes.

If in devoting this Postscript to the consideration of the Examiner's objections, I am supposed to have conferred on them a degree of importance, which they do not intrinsically justify; I beg it may be understood, that had not the author been announced as the Editor of the Oxford Strabo, his qualifications in construing Greek would have induced me to have consigned them to that repose, out of which, I am much deceived, or he will long regret, they should have been ever awakened.



**ADDITIONAL REMARKS**

**ON A**

**PASSAGE IN EUSEBIUS.**

Ἐγὼ δὲ γιλάσας καίλιγμι αὐτῷ διότι διδάσκαλος εἶναι λίγων, ὅτι ἥδη  
διδασκόμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῷ κραίονται.

RHODON, AP. EUSEB. E. H. V. xiii.

“ Quod *logos* aut *methodos*, simplexque *empirica* pangit,  
Hoc liber iste tenet, diverso e *dogmate* sumptum.

Marcell. de Medicin. v. 6.  
inter Poet. Lat. Min. p. 140. ed. Glasg.

## ADDITIONAL REMARKS

ON A

### *PASSAGE IN EUSEBIUS.*

—o—

As the wonder excited by the consequential bluster, with which the grave exposé of absurdities has sought to give some little importance to his entry, has had time to subside; some curiosity arises after the object of such obtrusive clamour;

*Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissori hiatu?*

The merits of Eusebius, as a historian and divine, have occasioned much controversial discussion;\* in which the opponents, who have arrayed themselves on either side, have displayed no ordinary ingenuity and erudition. By “the Fabricator” of the devoted hypothesis, his orthodoxy as a theologian, if not his fidelity as a historian, had been in some degree brought into question. From the champion, who has stepped so valiantly forth, as the avenger of “the Bishop and Historian,” some show of resistance so injurious an aspersion might be naturally expected. The time employed in completing his defence, the tone assumed in conducting it, tended not a little to raise these expectations to a high degree of excitement. The period at length arrived which

\* Vid. Montfanc. Præl. in Eus. Com. in Ps. cap. vi. p. ix. b.



was to develop the labor of five years, consumed in preparations for the renewal of hostilities. It was then indeed apparent, that the mine was skilfully planned, to work which had cost so much time and labor ;—that an alliance with Selden had been formed ;—that Du Cange and Damm (whose very name is portentous) had been taken into consultation ;—that Eusebius's History had been scrutinised throughout,—and all the documents and edicts, particularly those directed against infidels and heretics, (of whom 'the Fabricator' was the vilest,) were set in tremendous array ;—and, the dreadful moment of explosion having at length arrived,—that the meaning of *two words* was contested, in a letter from Constantine to Eusebius.

When the smoke excited by the first discharge of this destructive machinery had cleared away, and its devoted victim acquired time to recover, from the disorder into which every faculty was thrown, his terrors represented the absurdity of his ideal architecture, as irrecoverably exposed, and all his air-built structures as reduced to dust and cinders. But a moment's experience convinced him that his apprehensions were vain : his castles, he soon found, continued unassailed, and he felt that his bones remained unshattered. Still, his terrors represented the train only as fired, that "the mountain labored" from within, and that destruction, struggling for a vent, would soon overwhelm him, in a furious, flaming, and sulphureous deluge. His feelings may be therefore more easily fancied than described, when, summoning greater resolution, he approached the source of terror and dismay, and viewing the implement of destruction, discovered some over-grown school-boy had

been at work. But how are his sensations to be conceived, when, holding the thing of "sound and fury, signifying nothing," in his hand, he perceived, that its work of destruction was done: that having fumed, sputtered, and bounced, the squib had expired, in its own ludicrous report, and with no more serious consequences to the startled spectator, than that of being, for a very few moments, offensive!

To descend from these mock heroics, the spirit of which it seems impossible not to catch, in perusing the silly title of the tract before me; we may proceed to plain matter of fact. When the points of attack are known, at which so stupendous a machine is directed, "the absurdity," which has been effectually "exposed," will require no proclamation. Some curiosity, will, indeed, remain to be satisfied, how its contriver could have deluded himself into the belief, that, "the hypothesis," on which it spent its force, would be overthrown, had the most indefectible success followed his undertaking. Though in drawing that hypothesis out, the meaning ascribed to the two disputed terms was deemed necessary to support the inference deduced from Constantine's epistle, in which they occurred; it is difficult to conjecture what fatuity could possess the objector with the belief, that any meaning which could be ascribed to those terms, or even deduced from that epistle, could lead to the subversion of a hypothesis, rested on a different and independent foundation. Nor is any thing more than a bare reference to the points,\* which its fabricator undertook to establish, necessary to evince, how

\* "Postscript to Remarks on a Passage in Eusebius." *supr.* p. 21. l. 29. et seq.



perfectly harmless the tremendous implement of destruction has proved, by which, its contriver fancies, or dreams, that he has completed its ruin.

Yet, notwithstanding the absolute, and indeed ludicrous, insignificance of the points, which this disputant has collected force and courage sufficient to contest; it may not be inexpedient to meet him, even upon the low ground which he has chosen. The vamping terms in which his defiance is expressed, though they are as offensive to good manners, as inconsistent with good taste, are indeed little calculated to provoke recrimination. Whatever be the rank to which his ambition may ultimately raise him; the tricks to which quacks and impostors have long had recourse, to make up, by a blustering and inflated importance, for the intrinsic emptiness of their pretences, have nearly taken from rodomontade, its power to excite our mirth, and have wholly deprived it of its capacity to move our resentment. In perfect indifference, as to the provocation or its result, I would have consequently received it in contemptuous silence; or given it no other answer, than was bestowed, of old, on such thrasonical raving;

Ego tua magnifica verba, neque istas tuas magnas

minas

Non pluris facio, quam ancillam meam quæ latrinam

lavat.

I have, however, determined, that he shall have his reply; nor will I conceal, that some share of inward gratification is attendant on the undertaking. There is a calm satisfaction that arises, on beholding justice make her award on that species of valor, which employs its mischievous though feeble efforts, not in defence but annoyance. Nor is the exultation to be suppressed or



denied, which arises, on contemplating the consequences held in reserve, for that bravery, which consists rather in threat than execution; particularly when it proceeds, on a vain presumption of success, “ante victoriam cantare triumphum.”

In proceeding to put the reader in possession of the merits of the points in dispute, it is not necessary to quote the passage in Constantine's epistle, in which the contested terms occur. As the passage has already frequently appeared,\* and as the force of the terms may be fully ascertained, without any view to the context, it is only necessary to quote those clauses in which they are found: the phrases τῇ σῇ συνέσει τὸ δηλώσαι, and τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λόγῳ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι γινώσκεις, furnishing, in the terms *Σύνεσις* and *λόγος*, the ground and subject of the dispute, in which the following contradictory opinions are maintained.

‘I have presumed,’ declares the Fabricator of the hypothesis, ‘that the term *σύνεσις* fully expresses the quality of the person addressed; that, connected with σὺ, it is no honorary title, but a mere form of compellation; and may be not improperly expressed by the term ‘*consideration*,’ in the comprehensive sense in which Dr. Johnson explains the word; ‘mature thought, prudence, serious deliberation.’ I apprehend that the term *λόγος*, in the forecited passage, signifies ‘*doctrine*; and that, as it is coupled with θεῶν γράφῳ, the phrase should be rendered, ‘which you know to be necessary to the *doctrine* of the Church.’ But I am humbly of opinion, that whether these terms be taken in this sense or any other will not materially affect my argument, nor ever lead to the subversion of my hy-

\* Vid. Remarks, *supr.* p. 1.

'pothesis, much less to the exposure of its absurdity.'

"It is but vain confidence," replies the objector, "for I maintain that the term *ἱερός* is an honorary title, which expresses nothing more than the respect of the person by whom it is applied; and that the phrase in which it occurs should be rendered, 'signify to *Your Intelligence*,' these terms being used after the analogy of *Your Eminence*, or *Your Reverence*. I insist, that *λόγος* means *nature and constitution*; and that the phrase in which it occurs should be rendered 'which you know to be necessary, in consideration of, having regard to the *nature and constitution of the Church*.' And I contend, that having determined a point of such moment as the signification of two words; I am entitled, as victor in the contest, to record my triumphs on my title, The absurd hypothesis, that Eusebius of Cæsarea, Bishop and Historian, was an editor or corrupter of the Holy Scriptures exposed."

On the latter subject we are not likely to have many words, convinced, as I am, of your prerogative to boast—"Turk Gregory never did such deeds in arms as I have done this day."

I. When the antecedent objection first assailed my devoted hypothesis, I soon learned, from the powers and attainments of the assailant, that a controversy, once commenced with such a disputant, had little chance of coming to an end, unless it was thrown out of the beaten track, in which the question might be everlastingly begged. To raise the most insuperable obstacles, which my ingenuity could devise, to the unlimited exercise of this prerogative, to which obstinacy has ever recourse, for a pretext to prolong a



dispute; I proposed the test of *translation*, as affording the surest criterion, for trying the points in controversion. The difficulties with which the disputer would have to contend, would then be not merely doubled, as he would be thus reduced to the necessity of proving the existence of his error, not only in one language, but in two; but multiplied to an incalculable degree, as the ambiguities of sense, by which he would be most likely to be misled, or disposed to mislead his readers, are rarely found to exist in two languages, not immediately allied by affinity or descent. To justify the application of this test, which threw no obstacle in the way of his opponent, with which the proposer would not have to contend, an assumption was necessary, and was accordingly made, under the impression that it received Eusebius's support. Under his sanction, it was consequently premised, that 'the Epistle which contains the disputed terms had been *written in Latin*, and was *translated* by that historian *into Greek*.' In the demolition of this principle, which "the exposé of the hypothesis," labors with all his might to effect, its "fabricator" finds an attack directed against his very foundation. To prevent his castles, for which he retains a lurking predilection, from being transferred, by this polemical pioneer, from *terra firma* into the clouds; a principle of self-defence compels him to grapple with his opponent, if indeed he is to be reached by a countertermine.

I. To the assumption, that 'Constantine's Epistle was written in Latin, and has been translated by Eusebius into Greek,' it is objected, as a prelude to the main attack, that it is "another hypothesis." Let us say postulate, and it will bring



us a little nearer to the mark. But let it be a hypothesis, if it is the objector's good pleasure, and the exposure of its absurdity is likely to afford us any sport. I apprehend, that the evils of a postulate or hypothesis will be hardly mended, by the substitution of a supposition in its stead, which its lack of information and ingenuity would forbid me to call a paradox, did not its incoherence and improbability fit it for being called a dream; and one too, which has every feature of the progeny of those prolific brains, which are neither very bright from nature, nor unfrequently bemused. For what foundation more solid can be found for the supposition, on which the objector reasons, that "the Emperor, according to established usage, in his private communications with individuals, used the Greek language?" If this hypothesis did not receive the explicit contradiction of "Bishops and Historians," as its fabricator shall be soon taught to know; from the very slightest knowledge of the Emperor's history, its "absurdity" might be "exposed." Is it necessary to inform this vindicator of Eusebius, that Constantine succeeded his father Constantius Chlorus, in the government merely of the Transalpine Provinces; that previously to the first partition of the empire with Licinius, in the year 314 he held no communication with the East;\* and that at that time the Western Provinces only fell to his share? As there is no letter in "the Ecclesiastical History" of Eusebius, which does not bear an earlier date; "Is there a parson much bemused in beer," by whose brain a grosser absurdity could be fabricated, than that it was the

\* Vid. Euseb. Vit. Constantin. Lib. II. cap. xx. p. 546, 4. cap. xxii. p. 547, 4. cap. xliii. p. 557, 26.

Emperor's "established usage" to address his subjects, not merely in a foreign language, but in a language which they did not understand; as is proved to a demonstration, by the differences which, in the same century, interrupted the harmony between the Eastern and Western Church?\*

But if the absurdity of this hypothesis be thus easily exposed, what language can be found to do justice to the method of proof, by which it is made out? Presuming upon which, its truly inimitable contriver proceeds gravely to assure us, that he "apprehends he is justified both by *reasoning*, "and by *example*, in concluding, that the original "letter in question was written *in Greek*." As a specimen of what "reasoning and example" are, in such hands, competent to effect, I proceed to lay the argument, in its principle, proof and conclusion, bodily before the reader. I take leave, however, to add a few alterations and corrections, of which an account will be rendered in due time; but these I shall separate from our author's text, by brackets; that his pure gold may not be polluted by the alloy of baser ore.

"In the history of Eusebius,"† he observes, "private letters and public edicts are numerous. "Of these many are *written in Greek*, and many "are *translated into Greek from the Latin* original. "I will recite the titles of perhaps the greatest "part of them, and refer to their places in the "history."

[IN THE HISTORY OF EUSEBIUS.]

1. The Palinodia of Constantine [*Edict of Galerius*,] translated, Book VIII. p. 403.

\* See Inquir. into Integr. of Gr. Vulg. p. 57. n. <sup>25</sup>. p. 391. n. <sup>145</sup>.

† The absurd Hypothesis, &c. exposed, p. 4.



2. A *Letter* of Sabinus the Prætorian Prefect, *translated*, b. IX. p. 439.
3. [*Rescript* of Maximin, *published in Latin and Greek*, b. IX. p. 445.]
4. [*A Letter* of the Emperor Maximin to Sabinus, *translated*, b. IX. p. 452.]
5. *Decree* of Maximin, *translated*, b. IX. p. 456.
6. *Edict* [Constitution] of Constantine and Licinius, *translated*, b. X. p. 480.
7. A *Letter*, [another Constitution] to Anulinus, *not\** translated, b. X. p. 483.
8. A *Letter* to Miltiades, Bishop of Rome, *not\** translated, b. X. p. 484.
9. A *Letter* to Chrestus, Bishop of Syracuse, *not\** translated, b. X. p. 485.
10. A *Letter* to Cæcilianus, Bishop of Carthage, *not\** translated, b. X. p. 486.
11. A *Letter* to Anulinus, *not\** translated, b. X. p. 487.

## [IN THE BIOGRAPHY.]

12. [*Edict* inserted, |out of its order, below N<sup>o</sup>. 16. published in *Greek*, Book II. Page 548.]
13. A *Letter* from Constantine to Eusebius, *not\** translated, b. II. p. 559.
14. *Edict* of Constantine on the errors of Polytheism, *translated*, b. II. p. 560.
15. A *Letter* of Constantine to Alexander and Arius, *not\** translated, b. II. p. 567.
16. Constantine's Profession [*Edict* to the Provincials of Palestine] published in Latin and *Greek*, b. II. p. 548. [548.]
17. A *Letter* to the Churches, on the Synod of Nice, *not\** translated, b. III. p. 586.
18. Six other *Letters* of Constantine *not\** translated, b. III. p. 595. seq.

\* It may be necessary to observe, that the negative particle prefixed in Italics, to the term 'translated' in this example and those marked with an asterism, receives not the least countenance from Eusebius, as will be made abundantly manifest in the sequel.



19. Form of Prayer enjoined to the Soldiery, translated, b. IV. p. 636.  
 20. Orations of Constantine published in Latin and Greek, b. IV. p. 644.

"The conclusion," continues my author, "which I apprehend may be drawn from this review of these documents, is, that the emperor according to established usage, in his private communications by *letter*, used the *Greek* language, but in forming and *promulgating edicts*, when he interposed with the imperial authority, he used the *Latin* language, the language appropriated to laws, and to the transactions of state affairs."\*

The reader, I trust, is by this time led pretty well into the secret of certain omissions and alterations in the titles and order of some of the preceding documents, of which he has to hear a little more in due time. It is not now necessary to detain him, with enlarging upon the logical merits of this "reasoning," in which an "example" of almost every species of sophistry might be found; and in which, to speak without exaggeration, every principle of induction is violated. But the opportunity is not to be resisted of expressing my admiration of the ingenuity, with which "the conclusion" is brought out, by a perpetual begging of the question: while not only the waste of time and paper, but "the exposure" of certain resorts, as little creditable to the user's honesty as his information, might have been avoided, by assuming it, boldly and immediately, in the case of the letter in dispute.

To turn from this logician's "reasoning" to his "examples," which furnish us with the most exquisite treat; we need the assistance of the histo-

\* "Absurd hypothesis &c. exposed," p. 4.



“grants of money,” Eusebius absolutely *identifies* “the Letter (N<sup>o</sup>. 10) to Cæcilianus, Bishop of “Carthage,” which is offered as an example of an epistle “*not translated* ;” as he prefixes to it this title, \* “Copy of an Imperial Epistle, by which *money is granted* to the Churches.”

But we have not yet arrived at the conclusion of this exquisite farce. For, incredible as the foregoing instance of its author's incompetency, to obtrude into the present controversy, may be deemed ; it will be received with the certainty of intuition, when compared with what remains to be disclosed. The reader is yet to be informed, that not merely at the distance of a few pages, but at the head of the very chapter, from which his first examples of “Letters of Constantine, *not translated*” are deduced, Eusebius has put on record, and in the most explicit terms, a direct contradiction of “the conclusion,” of which we have been so recently entertained with the proof. After prefixing the title† “Copies‡ of Imperial “Laws§” he opens the chapter, in which the first of the six examples lately quoted (N<sup>o</sup>. 7—11.) are inserted, with the following words ;|| “Now we “add as follows, *translations¶* of the Imperial “Constitutions\*\* of Constantine and Licinius, †† “*rendered from the language of the Romans.*” And if the plurals, “Copies of Imperial Laws,” and “Translations of Constitutions,” were not sufficiently explicit, in marking out the *five* documents which follow ; after citing the “Imperial Constitution of Constantine and Licinius,” (N<sup>o</sup>. 6) which

\* Euseb. *ibid.* cap. vi. p. 486. l. 15.

† *Id.* *ibid.* cap. v. p. 480, 38. † ἀντίγραφα. § νόμων.

|| *Id.* *ibid.* l. 39. ¶ ἑρμηνείας. \*\* διαλέξεων.

†† ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων φωνῆς μεταληφθεῖσας.



# ADDITIONAL REMARKS ON A

... issued from Milan, he prefixes to the Constitution directed to Anulinus, (N<sup>o</sup>. 7) which immediately follows it, these words ;—\*“ Copy of *Imperial Constitution*, they signifying, that what was bestowed was granted as a gift to the Catholic Church alone.” Though this document is selected by the exposé, as his *first* “example” of a letter from Constantine to Anulinus “not translated.”

But here, without doubt, the objector, with the discriminating acuteness of lawyer Scout, is ready to interpose, that, “not being conversant in these matters, I have mistaken a difference.” The general declaration of Eusebius, in professing to add translations of the Imperial Constitutions of *Constantine and Licinius*, may it seems be detached from the five examples which follow, commencing with the Constitution addressed to Anulinus. By means of a distinction which has been inculcated, with about the same profundity of discrimination that distinguishes the pettifogger in Fickling, it has been accordingly observed, in anticipation of the preceding observation† “the Edict in question,” (N<sup>o</sup>. 6) is the celebrated edict of Toleration, promulgated at Milan, *not* ‘by the same authority’ as that from which Eusebius” could, by parity of reasoning, from which Anulinus) received his mandatory letter, (N<sup>o</sup>. 7) but *by the authority of Constantine and Licinius*.” Having given the innuendo conveyed in this observation its proper direction, in transferring it from the letter which Eusebius received, to the Constitution addressed to Anulinus: I proceed to observe, that, as it would be a reproach to my

\* Euseb. *ibid.* p. 483. 21. + *ἡμεῖς ἐκτελεῖν διατάξimus*.  
Abund Hypothesis, &c. exposed,” p. 6.

understanding, if a solitary point were gained by such an opponent, he shall be now taught the value of his own distinction :

For 'tis the sport to have the engineer  
Hoist with his own petar.

In reply to this very profound distinction, its author must be first told, that "the Edict in question *was* published by the same authority as that "from which Eusebius received his mandatory letter." Is not the scantiness of this sciolist's information sufficiently glaring, that he cannot omit this opportunity of convincing us, he remains to be taught, it was from the Provincial Prefect, and not from the Imperial Ruler, that Edicts generally derived their authority? When he has attained as much information as may be acquired by the perusal of a passage in Eusebius,\* with Valesius's note, to which may be added a note of Baudre on Lactantius;† he will probably perceive a broader distinction than has hitherto struck his sagacity. He will be then sufficiently instructed to discover, that by "the *same* authority" was meant the *Imperial* as distinguished from the *Magisterial*; the Emperor having required the Constitution before us to be published, without the intervention of an Edict; ‡ "per lata programme "tuo" are its words, "*hæc Scripta et ubique pro-  
ponere et ad omnium scientiam perferre conve-  
nit.*" In *this* sense the term *Βασιλικός* happens to be *prefixed* by Eusebius to "this celebrated Edict," and "to the Letter addressed to Anulinus;" and in the same sense we find the term

\* Euseb. Hist. Eccl. IX. 454, 24. et Vales. not. in loc.

† Baudr. not. in Lactant, p. 754.

‡ Lactant. de Mort. Persecut. cap. xlviii.

“Imperialis” prefixed to a Constitution of Honorius and Theodosius;\* “Recitatio *Imperialis* Præcepti de habenda Collatione.”

This point being adjusted, I have now to inform this accurate discriminator (1.) That “the celebrated *Edict*, the *Edict of Milan*,” (Nº. 6) was nothing more than an Imperial *Letter*; (2.) That not only it, but the two Letters addressed to Anulinus (Nº. 7, 11) “were promulgated by the joint “authority of Constantine and Licinius.” I shall be at so much trouble to give him a little information on this subject, for the sake of certain conclusions which it brings along with it, and which, in his anxiety to mark distinctions that I proceed to obliterate, he leaves no doubt on my mind, he has long regarded in prospect.

(1.) On examining “the celebrated *Edict*, the “*Edict of Milan*,” it unfortunately appears, that while it appropriates to itself almost every term by which the Imperial Constitutions are usually designated; by a sad perverseness of one or both of the august personages by whom it was promulgated, it renounces the term which this subtle distinguisher exclusively adopts, and adopts the term which he has exclusively discarded. A bias so untoward in this “celebrated” document, may appear so strange as to require confirmation. To those who are too incurious, or too indolent, to consult the original, preserved by Lactantius, the following observation of one of his commentators may be commended. This learned person, after informing his readers, that the author of this Constitution terms it, in his context, “*Sanctio, Scripta, Præceptum, Statutum, Ordinatio*,” adds the

\* Ap. Optat. Milevit. p. 30. sive p. 231. ed. Du Pin.



following observation : \* “ Sed quod notandum *mus-*  
*piam pariter Edictum* appellavit, uti nec noster  
 “ [Lactantius], qui contra *semel atque iterum mero*  
 “ ‘ *Epistolarum* ’ nomine, ad hanc dispositionem in-  
 “ digitandam usus est. Primo nempe in hujus  
 “ fere capitis [xlvi] initio, ‘ de restituenda Eccle-  
 “ sia [Licinius] hujusmodi *Litteras* ad Præsidentem  
 “ datas proponi jussit ;’ atque denuo propemodum  
 “ in fine, ‘ His *Litteris*. ’ ” And curious to ob-  
 serve, in this senseless confusion of our author’s  
 perspicuous distinctions of Edicts and Letters, the  
 writer of this annotation acquiesces, without much  
 apparent hesitation.

But what is more strange and deplorable, the  
 Greek translator of “ the celebrated Edict of To-  
 “ leration, the Edict of Milan,” the orthodox Eu-  
 sebius himself takes a whim to play the heretic,  
 on the occasion of translating it ; and conspires  
 with its Latin transcriber, Lactantius, in confound-  
 ing the same learned distinctions between Edicts  
 and Letters. With much gravity he ascribes  
 certain derogatory words to its imperial authors,  
 which not only degrade this “ celebrated ” Con-  
 stitution from its rank among Edicts, but treat as  
 unceremoniously some prior Constitution of the  
 same emperors, to which it refers. He gives this  
 translation of a passage in that Constitution, †  
 “ in our former letter ‡ concerning the Christians,”  
 and these disparaging words, his translator Vale-  
 sius, seized with the contagion of heterodoxy,  
 presumes in his turn to render back into Latin,  
 “ in *priore nostra de Christianis Epistola*. ” But

\* P. Baudri not. in Lactant. de Mort. Persecut. cap. xlviii.  
 tom. II. p. 753. ed. Dufresn. Paris. 1748.

† Euseb. ibid. X. v. 481, 30.

‡ τοῖς προτέροις ἡμῶν Γράμμασι.

what is even more grievous, 'Eusebius, Bishop and Historian,' has of his own free will and accord degraded "the celebrated Edict, the Edict of "Milan," into the same rank and order with "the Letter to Anulinus:" in terming the former simply "a Constitution,"\* and the latter "*another* "Constitution,"† he acknowledges no difference between them.

I shall now add a few of the reasons, which incline me to be of opinion, that neither of these learned persons, to whom we are indebted for the preservation of this document, was greatly mistaken, in classing it rather as a Letter than an Edict. The very names of Lactantius and Eusebius carry no small weight, in determining me to adopt this opinion; in preference even to that of Pagi, who acknowledged no difference between an Imperial Letter and Edict.‡ Of Eusebius, we are assured, by his advocate and defender, that he was "a "contemporary and friend" of Constantine; as some return for the novelty of the information, he may be assured in turn, that Lactantius was the companion and tutor of Constantine's son Crispus. Nor was their opinion delivered on a subject which was indifferent in its nature, or casual in its occurrence; but expressed on a document in which they felt a strong personal interest, as Christians living in those perilous times.

So much for the external evidence, determining the nature of this "celebrated" Constitution; as far as the internal goes, it tends to establish the conclusion derived from the external. We have been referred, by the advocate of Eusebius,§ to a

\* Euseb. *ibid.*

† *Idem. ibid.* p. 483, 21.

‡ Vid. Pagi, in Critic. Baron. ad. Ann. Christ. 314, num. 10.

§ "Absurd Hypothesis &c." p. 6.



note in his editor, Valesius, for a specification of the differences between an Edict and Letter. It happens rather unfortunately, that he specifies no distinctive mark of the Letter which is not found in this document, no distinctive mark of the Edict which is discoverable in it. Letters, he declares, were addressed to individuals, but Edicts were generally directed; the following expressions, extracted from this "celebrated Edict," sufficiently prove, that it must take its place among Letters: \*  
 "quare scire Dicationem *tuam* convenit—quæ solitudini *tux* significanda esse credidimus—intel—  
 "ligit Dicitio *tua*—per intercessionem *tuam*." Again, Valesius observes, that Edicts were published, but Letters kept private, unless the Imperial "al Proponatur" was inserted in them: this characteristic mark of the Letter is likewise discoverable in this "celebrated Edict," which uses the following words: † "hæc *Scripta* ubique *proponere*, et ad omnium scientiam *te* *preferre* *convenit*." In fine, Valesius declares, that all the Imperial titles were ambitiously displayed in Edicts, but a few only, and those unostentatiously expressed, introduced into Letters: "the celebrated Edict," as preserved by Lactantius and Eusebius, possesses no titles but those prefixed to the Letters addressed to the Bishops, by which it is accompanied ‡  
 "—Constantinus Augustus—Licinius Augustus."

(2.) Having thus seen that the Constitution issued from Milan, was a document of the same kind, as the two *letters* addressed to Anulinus, though distributed by our author into different classes; we proceed to examine, whether these three documents have not "proceeded from the

\* Lactant. ubi supr. p. 245.

† Id. ibid. p. 246.

‡ Id. ibid. p. 244. Euseb. ibid. v. 481, 9.



"same authority," in the sense claimed for these words, by the same accurate discriminator. No very inconclusive proof of the assumption seems to arise on comparing the superscriptions of the letters addressed to Anulinus, with those prefixed to the letters addressed to the Bishops: the latter as proceeding from one emperor, have the words, "Constantine Augustus, to Miltiades—Crestus—Cecilianus:" but the former† as proceeding from two, have the words, "Hail Anulinus, most honored to us." The time, however, at which both these letters, as well as the Constitution issued from Milan, must have been written pos this point beyond controversion. The Epistle inscribed to Anulinus, as addressed to that magistrate, while he held the proconsulate of Africa, must have been written before November, 313, as in this month, Anulinus was succeeded by Elan, in the government of the African Province.‡ As Constitutions in favor of Christianity issued in his proconsulate, they must have been written after June in the same year: for the persecution, which commenced under Diocletian, was then terminated, by the promulgation of the Constitution from Milan. As they were thus written between June and November, in this memorable year: they were consequently written when Constantine and Licinius were not merely partners in the empire, but participators in the consulate.¶ And as the

† Vol. II. p. 10. sup. p. 43. vol. Euseb. hist. 7. 434—435.

‡ Vol. II. sup. p. 43. vol. Euseb. hist. 7. 434, 437.

§ Vol. II. p. 434.

¶ Vol. Ecclesiast. Council. Cod. Theodos. p. viii. ad Ann.

Vol. II. sup. p. 434. Preface of Basil. Council. Dec. 318.

Vol. II. sup. p. 434. Vol. II. Councils III. Letter of Augustus Cæs.

division of the empire did not take place until October in the following year,\* they must have consequently "proceeded from the joint authority of "Constantine and Licinius." The Proconsul Ælian accordingly refers to "the authority of Constantine and Licinius," in the Purgation of Felix,† one of the first acts of his government, *after* he succeeded Anulinus, in Africa. What I have been at so much pains to prove appeared so evident to Valesius, that he prefixes to the first of the Letters addressed to Anulinus, the following words;‡ "Exemplum alterius Constitutionis, qua Imperatores soli Ecclesiæ Catholicæ beneficium a se concessum esse indicarunt."

The reader is now only requested to compare the two passages,§ which I have extracted from "the History" of Eusebius, with the six last examples,|| which our author has adduced from the same work, in proof of his assumption, that "Constantine, in his private communications by letter, used the *Greek* language," to be enabled to accompany "the Fabricator of the Hypothesis," in making the necessary deductions. In the first of those passages, the historian declares, that it was his intention to adduce "Copies of the Emperor's Letters to the Bishops, translated from the *Latin*," and in the other, "Copies of the Imperial Constitutions of Constantine and Licinius, translated from the language of the *Romans*." After declaring this intention, he cites six documents; three Letters (Nº. 8, 9, 10) addressed respectively

\* Gothofred. *ibid.* p. ix. ad. An. 314.

† Gest. Purgat. Fel. Aptung. ap. Opt. Mil. p. 165.

‡ Euseb. *ubi* supr. p. 483, 21.

§ Vid. *supr.* p. 42. l. 21. p. 43. l. 24.

|| Nº. 6—11. *supr.* p. 40.

to the Bishops, Miltiades, Chrestus, and Cecilia-nus: and three Constitutions, (N<sup>o</sup>. 6, 7, 11) one of which was issued from Milan, and the remaining two addressed to Anulinus. Of the remaining documents, cited in Eusebius's History, and generally classed under the denomination of Edicts, it is only necessary to observe, that they have an express declaration, immediately prefixed to them, that *they were translations from the Latin*. Consequently, while "the Exposer of the absurd hypothesis" presents us with "*a conclusion*," which he pretends to found on an induction of the "public Edicts and private Letters" contained in "the History of Eusebius;" the historian, whom he takes under his protection, has prefixed, to the whole of those documents, a *direct contradiction of it*, delivered in the most explicit terms, and supported by an exemplification, without an exception. May we not therefore ask this Falstaff of Polemics, "What trick, what device, what starting-hole, "canst thou now find out, to hide thee from this "open and apparent shame?"

2. It is by this time, I should hope, fully apparent, that whatever "reasoning and example" are competent to effect, in deciding the present question, tends to *subvert* "the conclusion," which they have been put in requisition to *establish*, by this sagacious exposer of the "absurd hypothesis." Whether we consider the tenor of Constantine's life, which was principally passed in the West, or the nature of his correspondence, which was conducted in Latin; whether we regard the acquirements of Eusebius, as acquainted with that language, or the testimony of his "History," as silent upon the subject of the Emperor's having ever written in Greek, and as explicit on that



his having corresponded with the Bishops in Latin: we can be conducted, by "reasoning," or "example," to no probable conclusion, respecting the disputed Letter, addressed by Constantine to Eusebius, but that it was *written in Latin*. In speaking of this Letter, the historian adopts the very language which he employs in describing the Emperor's correspondence with the Bishops in that language: of the former he declares, εἰς ἡμέτερον πρόσωπον ἐπετίθει τὸ γράμμα,\* of the latter ἰφοῖλα δὲ εἰς πρόσωπον ἐπισχότοις γράμματα.† And what adds greater weight to this observation is, that in thus expressing himself, he falls not merely into a Latinism, but into one adopted from a Letter of Constantine, which he transplants into Greek, by a literal translation. In the celebrated Constitution, issued from Milan, of which I have given the true designation, this passage occurs: ‡ "Atque hoc insuper *in personam* Christianorum statuendum esse duximus;" of which Eusebius gives the following translation, καὶ τὸτο δὲ πρὸς τοῖς λοιποῖς εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τῶν Χριστιανῶν δογματίζομεν.§ How this Latinism happens to be used by Eusebius, in speaking of the disputed Letter, is perfectly obvious, if we suppose it written in Latin; and thus it is unquestionably used by him, in speaking of the Emperor's correspondence with the Bishops in that language. But admitting that letter was written in Greek, it is wholly inexplicable, that Eusebius in speaking of it, should fall into the idiom of the Latin.

This conclusion is, however, rendered decisive,

\* Euseb. Vit. Const. IV. xxxiv. 644, 30.

† Id. Hist. Eccl. X. ii. 463, 26.

‡ Lact. uti sup. cap. xlviii. p. 245.

§ Euseb. ibid. v. p. 482, 82.

by the internal evidence of the disputed Letter. Had there been, in fact, no other proof of the language employed in drawing up the original, it might at once be deduced from the Latinisms in which it abounds. Of these, one or two striking instances have been pointed out by the native Greek, to whom the question was put, how far it was probable a Latin original might have produced the Greek text preserved by Eusebius. I shall specify one or two more, which are not diligently selected from the context and body of the epistle, but offered by the present dispute, as occurring in the very extracts which are the object of controversy.

(1.) One of the most striking characteristics of style consists in the choice of terms: but in the phrase, *σωμάτια τῶν θείων γραφῶν*, and still more in the context *ἵνα τὰ γραφείλα σωμάτια καὶ ἀνευσθεῖν*, the term *σωμάτια* clearly betrays its descent from the Latin. The term *corpus* is common in such a sense; but no instance occurs, in any reputed Greek writer, of *σωμάτιον*, with such a signification. Gesner,\* in his exemplification of the Latin term, quotes the following passage from Cicero; “sed utros ejus habueris *libros* (duo enim sunt *corpora*) an utros-“que nescio:” he gives also the following passage, on the authority of Ulpian, in the Digest: “*Corpus* Homeri, i. *omnia* Homeri *opera*.” If Latin be supposed the original of the disputed epistle, no term could have been chosen more suitable to the object of its author, in requiring the entire ‘body of the Scriptures.’ It is thus obvious how *σωμάτια*, as the verbal rendering of *corpus*, might have found its way into the Greek; and as it inadequately expressed the original, how the paraphrastic *γραφείλα σωμάτια* was devised,

\* Gesner. Thesaur. sub voc. “corpus,” num. 6.



to supply the defective meaning. But on the supposition that the original of the epistle was Greek, it is wholly inexplicable, how its author should have chosen an inadequate term, or even a paraphrastic phrase, which so plainly indicate the translator, to express his meaning.

(2.) Next to the choice of terms, peculiarities of construction are among the most striking of the characteristics of style; but in the phrase, *περίπου κατεφάνη τὸ δηλῶσαι τῇ σῇ συνείσει*, the article gives evidence of the descent of *τὸ δηλῶσαι* from *significandum esse* of the Latin. Had the author of the Greek phrase attended merely to the structure of the language in which he wrote, he would have omitted the particle; and it is curious to observe, his learned advocate suppresses it, in citing the passage, probably with the secret intention of blinking the present objection. But as the translator was required to attend to the structure of the language which he rendered; in lighting on a Latin idiom, which was unknown to the Greek, he rendered it in the only manner in which it could be expressed in the latter language; by modifying the infinitive with an article. If Latin be supposed the original of the disputed epistle, the introduction of the article is thus easily explained; as it was an object with the translator to assimilate his version as closely as possible to the original. But on the supposition, that the original of the epistle was Greek, it is wholly inexplicable, how the particle has crept into the context, in violation of the genius of the language.

(3.) The work of a mere translator betrays itself not more plainly in the choice and structure of the words, than the paraphrastic redundancy of the expression. In the phrase *ἵνα ὡς τάχιστα τὰ γραφέντα σωματικῶς καθίστασθαι, τῇ σῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ ἔργον τυτὸ γινῇ*



σεται, every reader must be struck with the unartful and awkward manner in which the sense is eked out by ἔργον τούτο. These terms are accordingly omitted in the translation, which merely expresses, "Tuæ erit diligentiae ut scripti codices "quantocyus apparentur." But in *Latin*, when *need* is signified, the noun is not only inserted, but *opus* is used; a term which is synonymous with ἔργον. With the assistance of this clue, on rendering the Greek phrase into Latin, we may arrive at a tolerably just idea of the original: which probably ran thus, "ut Corpora Scripturarum quantocyus componantur, diligentia tua *opus* erit." If Latin be supposed the original of the disputed epistle, we may thus easily account for the introduction of ἔργον, into the translation, as the literal rendering of *opus*. To the Greek translator, who required some term signifying *need*, the Latin merely expressed "will be *work* for thy diligence;" this phrase he accordingly expressed by a literal version, adding the pronoun to connect it with the preceding part of the sentence. Whereas, if he had been aware of the force of *opus*, he would have atonce expressed it by *χρεία*, and have properly rendered the sentence, ἵνα ὡς τάχιστα τὰ τῶν Γραφῶν σωματῖα κατασκευασθῇ, τῆς σῆς ἐπιμελείας *χρεία* ἔσται; in which, if the term σωματῖα is overlooked, there is nothing superfluous or awkward, but a strict adherence to the idiom of the language. On the supposition that the original of the epistle was Greek, it is wholly inexplicable, how so uncouth a paraphrase as it contains could have originated.

Nor let it be objected, that these are mistakes, which a *Roman* would be likely to make in expressing himself in the Greek language; and that

they may be consequently ascribed to *Constantine*, in addressing *Eusebius* in a *Greek* epistle. They who endeavor to express themselves in an acquired tongue naturally accommodate it to their vernacular idiom; though foreign terms are employed, they are unavoidably used by them, in the sense and structure of their native language. Whoever has examined but cursorily the language of the Septuagint, or the New Testament, must admit the justice of this observation; we there find Greek terms, but in an oriental sense and construction. Had the forementioned errors against the idiom of the Greek been the work of a Roman, the predominancy of the Latin idiom would atonce reveal the country of the writer. The terms *σῶμα* and *ἔργον* would have been naturally taken in the sense of *corpus* and *opus*, and the construction accordingly moulded after the writer's vernacular idiom. We might have then found the bald phrases, *σῶμα τῶν θείων Γραφῶν*—*τὰ τῶν Γραφῶν σώματα*—*τῇ σῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ ἔργον γενήσεται*—*πρίπον ἰδόχει δηλωθήσόμενον εἶναι*, as the rendering of *corpus divinarum scripturarum*—*corpora scripturarum*—*diligentia tua opus erit*—*necessarium videbatur significandum esse*: but could have hardly met the unusual phrases, *σωμαῖον τῶν θείων Γραφῶν*—*τὰ γραφέντα σωμάτια*—*τῆς σῆς ἐπιμελείας ἔργον τοῦτο γενήσεται*—*πρίπον κατεφάνη τὸ δηλῶσαι*.

In fact, the author of these expressions, as a native Greek, atonce perceived that his vernacular *σῶμα* was not equivalent to *corpus*, he accordingly took the diminutive *σωμάτιον*, which, as a less familiar term, more easily accommodated itself to a new signification, and made up its defective sense by the epithet *γραφέντα*. As his knowledge of the Greek gave him no insight into the force or government of *opus*, of which he seems to have

known nothing more than that it was synonymous with ἔργον; he was obliged to give the sentence such a turn as preserved the term in the sense which was common to the language with which he was best acquainted. To his superior acquaintance with the same language we must attribute his knowledge of the use of the article in inflecting the infinitive; into which he could have received no insight, from the Latin, and for which he could have retained no partiality, had he been a Roman.

But the point may be even more decisively made out, as it is possible to shew, not merely that the forecited phrases are the work of a Greek translator rendering a Roman composer, but that the Greek is the translation of Eusebius, rendering the Latin of Constantine. That the language of the disputed Epistle is that which Eusebius, or his Latin translator would have used, in rendering an Epistle of Constantine, may be clearly shewn, from the manner in which similar phrases are rendered, in "the celebrated" Constitution of Milan, which, however published by the joint authority of Constantine and Licinius, was obviously drawn up by the instigation of the former of these emperors.

(1.) The term *corpus* not only appears to have been a favorite term with Constantine; but, in the peculiar sense of a *collection*, in which it is used by him, it is rendered by Eusebius *συνάγιον*. In the forecited Constitution, the following passages occur; \* "In quibus omnibus, supradicto *corpori* Christianorum intercessionem tuam efficacissimam exhibere debebis;" again, † "Quoniam Christiani . . . habuisse noscuntur ad jus *corporis*

\* Lactant. uti supr. p. 246.

† Id. ibid.



“eorum id est Ecclesiarum, non hominum singulorum pertinentia.” The former of these passages is thus rendered by Eusebius, ἵνα πάντα τῶ ζωματίῳ τῶν Χριστιανῶν παρ’ αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς σῆς σπουδῆς ἄνευ τινὸς παρολκῆς παραδίδοσθαι δεήσει.† The latter is thus rendered ; καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ αὐτοὶ Χριστιανοί . . . ἱέρως τόπως ἐσχηκέναι γινώσκονται διαφύρουσας ἐς πρὸς ἑκάστον αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον τῶ αὐτῶν σώματος, τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν : in which σώμα, as taken in a new sense, is explained by the interpretive phrase τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν. (2) The Imperial mandate was not only expressed by the participle, and *significanda esse* accordingly used for that purpose ; but the Latin phrase is rendered by the infinitive, and δηλωσαι employed by Eusebius in rendering that expression. In the forecited Constitution the following passages occur : “Hæc ordinanda esse credidimus :—rectissima ratione ineundum esse credidimus :—quæ solituduni tuæ significanda esse credidimus.” These passages are respectively rendered by Eusebius : ταῦτα διαλέξαι ἰδογματίσαιμεν—ὁρθολόγῳ λογισμῷ ἰδογματίσαιμεν—ἅτινα τῇ σῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ δηλώσαι ἰδογματίσαιμεν. In these passages, the article is not introduced, as not suited to the context ; but that Eusebius was not unacquainted with its force in rendering the Latin participle, his translation of the following passages in the same Constitution, sufficiently demonstrates. He gives προαίρεσιν ἐσχηκόντων τῶ φυλάττειν τὴν Χριστιανῶν θρησκείαν,|| as the translation of “eorum qui *observandæ* religionis Christianorum gerunt voluntatem :” and, ἐξουσίᾳ τῶ τημελεῖν τὴν αὐτῶν θρησκείαν,¶ as the translation of “*colendæ* religionis suæ facultas.” And that the article was not introduced into the disputed phrase, πρέπων κατεφάνη τὸ

\* Euseb. uti supr. p. 482. 27.

† Id. ibid. p. 481, 29.

‡ Lactant. ibid. p. 245.

§ Euseb. ibid. p. 481, 14, 22. 38.

|| Euseb. ibid. p. 481, 35.

¶ Id. ibid. p. 482. 1.

δηλῶσαι τῇ σῇ συρίῳ, in compliance with the Greek idiom, the following passage from a contemporary writer very clearly evinces: ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμεν δηλῶσαι τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ ὑμῶν.\*

I should but trifle with the reader, were I to extend these observations further, and to adduce additional proof, from the language of the disputed epistle, that it must have been originally drawn up in Latin. Nor does it convey any objection to this conclusion, though pronounced "of no small import," by my expositor, "that Eusebius himself does not speak of the existence of any original in Latin." In quoting the Epistles inscribed to Miltiades, Cæcilianus and Chrestus, and the Constitutions addressed to Anulinus, he is equally silent, on the subject of their respective originals. When indeed the number of the documents is for a moment considered, which he has preserved in his history, no explanation will be required, to justify the course which he has pursued, with respect to the entire collection. Acting like any man who was endowed with common sense, and placed in similar circumstances, he avoids a tedious and unnecessary repetition; and while he is particular in noticing the originals of the larger and more important documents, with respect to the shorter and less important, he contents himself with a brief and general declaration. In this simple statement we have a satisfactory solution of any difficulty which may be supposed to exist, in his manner of citing those different documents, and a perfect "exposure" of the mystery of all the quackery about "public Edicts and private Letters," which its sage contriver has employed, to impose upon the uninstructed reader.

\* Athanas. Ep. ad. Monach. Tom. I. p. 343. c.

Before I dismiss this subject, an observation may not be wholly misapplied, on the head of "example and reasoning;" by which my sagacious expositor has been conducted to the contradictory of that conclusion, which it has been my endeavor to establish.

(1.) He must be informed, that several "examples" of original *Latin Epistles*, addressed by Constantine to the Bishops, are preserved by Optatus Milevitanus.\* The existence of these luckless documents, he is now called on to reconcile with the first half of his learned conclusion, "that the Emperor, according to *established usage*, "in his private communications with individuals "by letter, used *the Greek language*." When this task is performed, he will be at leisure to reconcile it with the plain testimony of "a Bishop "and Historian,"† who, in citing a Letter addressed by Constantius to Athanasius, when that Prince was not merely Emperor of the East, but after the seat of Empire had been, for nearly twenty years, transferred from Rome to Constantinople, expressly assures us, that it was written in Latin.‡ "The Emperor of the East," observes Socrates, in reference to Athanasius, "not only "once, but oftener, invited him to come to him, "as his letters show, which, *translated from the "Latin*, are after this fashion."

(2.) On taking the other half of the objector's "conclusion," it legitimately conducts us to a like consequence; as asserting, that "when he (the "Emperor) interposed with the Imperial authori-

\* Optat. Milevit. de Schism. Donat.

† Athanas. Hist. Arian. Tom. I. p. 357. Socrat. Hist. Eccles. II. xxiii. 109, 35.

‡ Socrat. *ibid*.



“ty, he used the Latin, *the language appropriated to the laws*, and to the transaction of state affairs.” This postulate being granted, the consequence is irresistible, that Latin must have been the language in which the disputed Epistle was written. Had the Roman jurisprudence been silent on the subject,\* common sense would decide, from the nature of an absolute monarchy, that the Imperial Letters had the force and nature of laws. Nor is it possible to read a few pages of Ecclesiastical History,† in which those documents are mentioned at any length, without having the conviction obtruded on us, that such was their proper designation. Of the Imperial Letters inserted by Eusebius in his “life of Constantine,” the principal part consists in those addressed to the Bishops, on the heresy of Arius; and to Eusebius, on the rebuilding of the Churches, and the instauration of the Scriptures. But, of the former, one at least, is expressly denominated a law by Socrates;‡ and of the latter, that on the subject of the Churches, is as expressly called a law, by Eusebius;§ and that, likewise, on the subject of the Scriptures, which is the identical Epistle in dispute, is spoken of by him in no other language.|| It consequently admits of no further dispute, if “Latin was the language appropriated to the laws,” that Latin was the language in which the contested Epistle was written. So much for what “reasoning,” founded on the na-

\* Vid. Gothofred. in Cod. Theodos. Lib. I. tit. i. Tom. I. p. 3.

† Vid. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. IX. x. 457, 16.

‡ Socrat. Hist. Eccl. I. ix. 31, 21.

§ Euseb. Vit. Const. II. xlv. 558, 23. xlv. 559, 35.

|| Id. ibid. III. i. 576, 15, 21.

ture of the documents in dispute, is competent in effect, in deciding the present controversy.

(3.) For the thorough exposure of the *charlatanerie* with which we have been amused, about "Edicts and Letters," it remains to be objected to the very principle on which it is founded, that as far as those documents are respectively distributed into "public and private," the distributor betrays the most consummate ignorance of the nature of an Imperial Letter. On the subject of one or two Epistles, which have been recently noticed, as referring to the rebuilding of the Churches, and the heresy of Arius, a passage in Eusebius and Socrates,\* may be commended to the learned author, who ventures to class them as private documents. To save time and paper, of which I am likely to be taught the value, before the present controversy is at an end, I shall content myself with giving an extract from Valesius, who has unfortunately written notes on Socrates, as well as on Eusebius. In one of these he reveals some particulars relative to those documents, which, for our instruction, are now classed and characterized, as "*private communications to individuals, by Letter.*" After correcting an error in the text of Socrates, in reference to "a Letter of Constantine to Alexander and Arius," he observes "*Solebant enim Imperatores Romani Epistolas suas quas ad civitates scribebant, publice legendas proponere.* Itaque ad calcem epistolæ addebant, proponatur: ut in Eusebianis Annotationibus observavi. Sic igitur *Constantinus cum multas epistolas conscripsisset adversus Arium, et ejus sectatores, eas publice in foro pro-*

\* Euseb. Vit. Const. II. xlv. 559. 31. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. I. ix. 37, 13.

“*poni voluit*. Talis est ‘epistola ad Arium et Ari-  
 “‘anos,’ quam refert Gelasius Cyzicenus in libro  
 “iii. de Gestis Synodi Nicænæ.... Scripta est  
 “autem a Constantino post Synodum Nicænam,  
 “et continet pœnam adversus eos qui prava Arii  
 “opinione recedere noluerint. . . . Hæc igitur *Epis-*  
 “*tola fuit instar Edicti*, ac proinde, *publice legi ac*  
 “*proponi debuit*.\*”

These points being adjusted, the question may be now restated on the original ground. And as, without claiming any indulgence, I may be now allowed to assume, that the disputed Letter was drawn up in Latin, the controversy may be brought to the speedy and decisive issue, to which it was formerly reduced. For, as I formerly reasoned, “since no Latin word which expresses *nature* or *constitution* could have suggested the term “*λόγος*, to the Greek translator of Constantine’s “Latin Epistle; and since that word would be “naturally suggested to him, by any term by “which *doctrine* is expressed,” the latter must have been the sense in which the word employed by the original writer was used. And as it is absurd to assert that the Latin phrase *prudentia tua*, or the parallel expression, *solicitudo tua*, by which it has been illustrated, is an honorary *title*; and as it is idle to dispute, that it expresses the *quality* of the person addressed: the latter must have been the sense in which the phrase was used in the original Latin epistle.

In answer to my demand, for proof, that *prudentia tua* or *solicitudo tua* is a title, I am indeed now seriously told,† that it is such, in being a *personification*; and in reply to my challenge for a Latin

\* Socrat. *ibid.* n. 1

† “Absurd Hypoth. &c. exposed,” p. 7.



word, which is a middle term between *word* and *nature* or *constitution*, the term *ratio* is *travestied* put forth,\* to meet the emergency of the occasion. But of this drivelling, it never can have been expected, that I should engage in a serious exposure. And with whatever secret snubbers the reader may be silently regarded by its proposer: if he considers either the title or the middle term which is offered in insult to his understanding, in connection with the context of the disputed epistle, he will have little hesitation in arriving at his own conclusion. He will, I trust, then readily decide, that *solicitudo tua*, when offered as an example of a title, forms a very amusing specimen, though at the expense of its author, of what may be termed a joke: and that *ratio ecclesie*, which is presented to us as Latin for "the nature and constitution of "the Church," is an inimitable specimen of the figure called nonsense.

II. Though to the satisfaction of every reasonable mind, the controversy might be now regarded as quietly laid at rest; it is not the Fabricator's inclination, that it should be suffered to indulge in a long repose. The work of refutation is, I doubt not, accomplished, even to the Exposer's perfect content; but for the gratification of the exposed, the business of chastisement has scarcely commenced. When I proposed the test of *translation*, as affording a touch-stone, by which the question might be easily decided, I entered my protest against the supposition, that it was necessary to try it by such a criterion. I then indeed suggested the most brief and decisive means for bringing it to its crisis; but it shall not be my part to shrink from the trial, in whatever shape it may be

\* Ibid. p. 12.

provoked, and on whatever ground it may be contested.

1. The question remains to be tried, on its own merits, and under the supposition, that the disputed letter, as preserved by Eusebius, in Greek, is an original composition. To bring it at once to an issue, an appeal is, in the first instance, accordingly made to *authority*. "I repeat," observes the Exposer, "my former objection, that *σύνεσις* does not here denote *consideration*, and I assert that it is a titular and honorary appellation; and I confirm this assertion by new authority, which others may verify for the fabricator of the hypothesis: '*Σύνεσις* titulus *honorarius* 'apud Basilium et alios.'"\*

To save myself from the fatal effects of this unexpected and decisive rejoinder, I shall beg leave to take shelter under the authority of *two* quotations; the first of which, following a high example, I leave others to verify for the expositor of the hypothesis:—"Sir John, Sir John, I am well acquainted with your manner of wrenching the true cause the false way. It is not a confident brow, nor the throng of words, that come with more than impudence from you, that can thrust me from a level '*consideration*.'" In giving up the other quotation. I shall spare the reader the trouble of a search for it, by putting a reference in my margin, by which it may be easily verified. † "*Σύνεσις*, *Prudentia*, titulus *compellatorius* in Epistolis, apud S. Basilium et alios."

The reader, who compares this "*authority*" with that to which it is opposed, will, I trust, be so little inclined to dispute, that the first is per-

\* "Absurd Hypothes. &c. exposed," p. 4.

† Du Cange Glossar. Med. Græcit. Tom. II. p. 1483.

fectly "new;" that he will readily acknowledge, it has been expressly fabricated, out of the latter, for the present occasion. Whether it remains for time to verify this conjecture or not; I shall only observe, that had I been the vile and paltry knave to forge or falsify an authority, to serve my private ends, I could not have produced one better calculated to support my purpose. For, in the first place, this authority interprets the term *σύνεσις* as a *quality*, by rendering it *prudētia*, of which my honest opponent was so thoroughly sensible, that, in his zeal for brevity, he has suppressed it altogether, in his quotation. In the next place, it represents this quality as being used as a form of compellation, with which also my honest opponent was so little satisfied, that, in his attachment to accuracy, he corrects *compellatorius* into *honorarius*, "leaving it to others to verify the quotation, "for the fabricator of the hypothesis." And let it be observed, *in transitu*, that this distinction between an honorary title and a form of compellation is fully recognized by the umpire to whom the decision of the controversy has been referred; as he interprets a supposed title, \*"*Dicatio,—titulus honorarius*;" while he defines the quality, "*Prudentia,—titulus compellatorius*." Nor does this distinction appear to have been lost upon my honest and accurate opponent; as may be collected from the convenient substitution which he makes, when it answered his purpose to shuffle one into the place of the other.

On the pedantic pains employed in ascertaining the meaning of the disputed term *σύνεσις*, in Homer and Pindar, in determining which, it may be ob-

\* Du Cange Glossar. Med. Latin. Tom. I. p. 1474.



served by the way, that Scapula appears to have been the instructor of Dr. Damm, and Signor Calbo, it is unnecessary to waste a remark; as in such empiricism the present controversy is as little concerned, as in ascertaining the period of the moon at which the Mæonian or Theban bard was visited by the inspiration of the muses. If Cicero be right in explaining *prudentia*, as \**“indignatio atque inventio veri;”* or if Johnson be right, in explaining *prudence*, as *“wisdom applied to practise;”*† it admits of little dispute, that neither term as adequately expresses the Greek σύνεσις, as the English word, *“consideration.”* Under this impression, a preference was given, as it was due, to the latter term, in rendering the disputed passage, in Constantine’s epistle.

I shall make use of the present occasion to clear up a doubt which has been expressed, by the native Greek, who was called in as an umpire in the present dispute, and who is claimed as an ally by my opponent, in that spirit of plain-dealing in which he rivals the modest hero of Gad’s Hill and Salisbury-Plain, his great exemplar. In delivering his opinion upon the disputed term, he observes, ‡*“E sembra che dall’ abuso che quel principe (Costantino) fece della parola, § nelle sue lettere ai Vescovi, le si desse in seguito quelle tinte, che (permessa la differenza delle persone) hanno le parole di ἐπιμέλειας, φιλανθρωπίας, πραύτητος, καλοκαγαθίας, φιλανθρωπίας, &c. parlando a un Monarca le quali non sono usate come tanti titoli, ne particolarmente significano humanitas, mansuetudo, benivolas e bonitas.”* The source of this opinion, I soon

\* Cicero. de Offic. Lib. I. cap. xv. p. 465. g.

† Johnson’s Diction. sub. voc.

‡ Rem. on a pass. in Euseb. p. 8.

§ σύνεσις.

discovered in "the Turco-Græcia" of Crucius; notwithstanding the address with which my literary friend labored to draw aside my attention, to the origin of the term, by talking of Xenophon's "Memorables," and Aristotle's "Metaphysics." Into that work I was notwithstanding most perversely induced to look, prompted by a suspicion, *a priori*, that it would clear up the difficulty, which my Greek associate was assiduous to introduce into a plain subject. I accordingly found, as I had guessed, that while he was edifying us with a dissertation upon the ἡ σὴ σύνεσις, ἡ ὑμετέρα φιλανδρωπία of the ancient Greeks, the comment was properly accommodated to the τῇ σὴ λογιστικῇ, τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ παναγιότητι, of the modern Græcists; for of the latter it is strictly true, that "they are not used as so many "titles, nor signify fully either *eloquence* or *sanc-* "tity." But this I deny to be the case with the ancient terms, though I readily admit, that, as compellatory forms, they bear some shade of resemblance to honorary titles, as both are forms of compellation. But in this respect, I contend they are essentially distinguished; the one fully signifying the quality of the person who is addressed, the other merely expressing the respect of the person who addresses. If the disputed term is regarded in the former view, it affords some confirmation to my hypothesis; if in the latter, it is perfectly harmless in respect to it, and decides nothing either for or against it. Should any turbaned Aristarchus, should Turk Gregory himself maintain a different doctrine on this subject, I fearlessly assert, that he is egregiously in error; and that, while we are in search of an idiotism of the ancient Greek, he seeks to put us off with a barbarism of his native Romaic.



2. From the foregoing appeal to authority, the contest is next to be decided, by a reference to *example*. For this purpose "the celebrated Edict, "the Edict of Milan," is again put in requisition; in reviewing the comments upon which, we are fated to witness a degree of literary talent, which surpasses even that displayed on a former occasion, in reducing this Constitution to its proper rank among Edicts or Letters.

In opening this destructive battery, our skilful tactitian observes, "But to shew the *prevalence* of "the practice of applying abstract terms *significant of virtues, or qualities moral or intellectual*, to "the purpose of *courtly compliment* and address, I "also shall refer to this Edict of Milan; 'Quare "scire Dicationem tuam convenit placuisse no- "bis" &c. and it is repeated in another sentence "elsewhere, 'intelligit Dicatio tua.' In another "book this word is explained as a titular denomination: 'Dicatio titulus honorarius.' If I shall "be told that Dicationem, is not the true reading, "and that it ought to be Dignationem, this is unnecessary as a conjecture, and not true *perhaps* "as a various reading."\* On which learned disquisition I have now to observe, that it is a texture of gross and palpable error, from its commencement to its close. For, (1.) Dicatio is significant of no virtue, or quality moral or intellectual: (2.) It is not applied to the purposes of courtly compliment or address: (3.) It is not interpreted a titular denomination, nor is it an honorary title: (4.) It is impossible that it can be a various reading, but is, beyond all question, the genuine reading of the Constitution issued from Milan.

\* "Absurd Hypoth. &c. exposed," p. 7.



(1.) As far as the authority of Du Cange goes, it affords no countenance to the preceding *charlatanerie*. He interprets "*Dicatio*,—*laus*, *gloria*," of which terms it will hardly be asserted, that either is "significant of a virtue, or quality moral "or intellectual." I believe, however, that profoundly learned person was mistaken in his interpretation of this term. He justifies it by no authority; while the annexed examples will abundantly prove, that *dicatio* is an abstract term, formed from *dicatus*, after the analogy of *devotio* from *devotus*; and that the phrase "*Dicatio tua*" is equivalently rendered by 'your allegiance, duty, or devotion.'

The inscriptions of the same age as the Constitution issued from Milan afford the best insight into the nature of the contested term. And of those dedicated to the Emperor, at whose instigation that Constitution was promulgated, many which are still extant have the epithets *devotus* and *dicatus*,\* *devotissimus* and *dicatissimus*, used as synonymous terms. The following examples will suffice, on the subject of the last mentioned epithets.

† FORTISS. ET. INDVLGENTIS	‡ PISSIMO. FORTISSIMO
PRINCIPI. DOMINO. NOSTRO	FELICISSIMO. DN
CONSTANTINO. VICTORI	CONSTANTINO. MAXI
PERPETVO. SEMPER. AVGVSTO	MO. VICTORI. SEMPER
DECIMIVS. GEMINIANVS	AVGVSTO.
VIR. CLARISS. CONSVLARIS	BADIVS. MACRINVS
PROVINCIAE. BAETICAE	V. P. P. P. H. TARRAC
N. M. Q. E.	NVMINI. MAIESTA
<b>DICATISSIMVS</b>	TIQVE. EIVS. SEMPER
	<b>DEVOTISSIMVS</b>

\* Vid. Murator. Nov. Thesaur. Inscript. p. celix. num. 2.

† Grav. Thesaur. Grut. Inscript. p. cclxxxiii. num. 8.

‡ Ibid. num. 9.

In some inscriptions, both of these terms are inserted; and in some, they are indifferently expressed by the letter *D*, and included in *D. N. M. Q. E.* the common abridgment of "*devotus (dicatus) numini majestatique ejus (eorum).*" Of the inscriptions which follow, and which are dedicated to Constantine, I transcribe only that part which bears upon the subject.

\* BETITIVS PERPETVVS  
DEVOTVS. NUMINI. MAIE  
STATIQUE. EIVS  
SEMPER. *DICATVS*

† ORDO. POPVLVSQVE  
*NOLANVS*  
*D. N. M. Q. EIVS*

(2.) The preceding inscriptions form the best introduction to the following passages, which are extracted not merely from a document of the same age, but from an Epistle addressed to Constantine by Anulinus, in reply to one of those, which formerly attracted so much of our attention. In opening his correspondence, the African Proconsul thus expresses himself; † "*Scripta cœlestia Majestatis vestræ accepta atque adorata Cæcilia-*" "no et his qui sub eodem agunt, quique clerici" "appellantur, *devotio parvitatæ meæ insinuare curavit.*" A little after, he thus stumbles upon the very term in dispute; § "*Verum post paucos dies extiterunt quidam, adunata secum populi multitudine, qui Cæciliano contradicendum putarent, quique fasciculum in aluta signatum et libellum sine signo obtulerunt dicationi meæ.*" And to complete the muster-roll of his *titles*, he closes his Epistle with the following sentence: || "*Quæ ma-*

\* Murator. *ib. p. cclix. num. 2.*

† Græv. *ibid. p. mlxxxvi. num. 4.*

‡ Relat. Anulin. ap. S. Augustin. *Ep. lxxxviii. Oper. Tom. II. p. 213.*

§ *Id. ibid.*

|| *Id. ibid.*



“nente Cæciliano in statu suo, subjectis eorundem  
 “actis, quo cuncta Majestas vestra possit dignos-  
 “cere *parvitas mea* dirigere curavit.” When the  
 terms *devotio* and *dicatio*, not merely connected in  
 this manner with *mea*, but explained by *parvitas*  
*mea*, are regarded in connexion with *devotus* and  
*dicatus* of the inscriptions; it will not be necessary  
 to waste another word, in explaining the meaning  
 of the disputed term. The good Proconsul, who  
 was a zealous heathen, and took an active part in  
 the persecution of Maximian and Diocletian, ad-  
 dresses his prince in the language of gross and  
 senseless idolatry, in which the Romans had been  
 accustomed; subsequently to the deification of  
 Julius Cæsar, to express, particularly in inscrip-  
 tions, their “devotion to the divinity and majesty”  
 of their Emperors. In continuation of the fore-  
 going passage, he thus expresses himself; “obtu-  
 “lerunt *dicationi meæ*, atque impendio postularunt,  
 “ut ad sacrum et venerabilem comitatum *Numi-*  
 “*nis vestri* dirigerem:” thus retaining the “Nu-  
 “men” as well as the “Majestas” of the inscrip-  
 tions. In the true spirit of Heathenism, he con-  
 sequently applies to himself, in reference to his  
 Prince, the very term, which his Prince, in the  
 true spirit of Christianity, assumes to himself, in  
 reference to his God, in a Letter addressed to the  
 Bishop of Rome, on the receipt of this Epistle  
 from Anulinus.\* Constantine’s words are, “the  
 “Divine Providence having, in its spontaneous  
 “bounty, delivered these Provinces to *my devo-*  
 “*tion*,”† in which words, (as the Epistle of Anu-  
 linus relative to the affairs of Cæcilianus, is men-

\* Const. ep. ad Miltiad. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. X. v. 484, 6.

† τῇ ἐμῇ καθοσίωσει.

† Id. ibid. p. 484, 12.



tioned in the sentence which immediately precedes,) this pious Prince tacitly disclaims the idolatrous incense offered to him by the African Proconsul. When these extracts are taken as a comment upon the terms "*Dicatio tua*," with which we shall soon see they are given an immediate connexion by Eusebius; nothing can more fully expose the ludicrous absurdity of our author's luckless guess, that they are "applied to the purpose "of *courtly compliment* and address."

(3.) The highest authority to which we can appeal, if not the only authority on which we can rely, for an accurate interpretation of the disputed terms, is obviously that of Eusebius. The Constitution in which they occur was unquestionably the most interesting document which had appeared in his times; and one, which he has not merely transcribed but translated, and inserted in his Ecclesiastical History. The passages which have been adduced, in illustration of the disputed terms, are connected in that Constitution with their context, as follows; \* "*Quare scire Dicatio-nem tuam* convenit, placuisse nobis, ut amotis "*omnibus omnino conditionibus, quæ prius scrip-tis ad officium tuum* datis super Christianorum "*nomine, videbantur* " &c. and with the interven-tion of a sentence; "*Quod cum iisdem a nobis in-dultum esse pervideas, intelligit Dicatio tua.*" Of which passages, the former is thus rendered by Eusebius; ἅλινα ἔτως ἀρέσκειν ἡμῖν ἀνταγράψαι ἀκόλουθον ἦν, ἵν' ἀφαιρεθείσων πανήλως τῶν αἰρέσεων, αἵτινες τοῖς προτέροις ἡμῶν γράμμασι, τοῖς πρὸς τὴν σὴν καθοσίωσιν ἀποσταλείσι περὶ τῶν χριστιανῶν ἐνείχοντο, κῆ. and the latter thus, ὅπως ἐπειδὴ ἀπολελυμένως αὐ. τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν διεδωρῆσθαι θεωρεῖ ἢ σὴ καθοσίωσις κῆ. To the

\* Lactant. uti supr. p. 245. l. 6.

above extracts from the original, the following may be added ; “ de quibus, etiam datis ad *officium tuum* literis certa antehac forma fuerat comprehensa ;” of which Eusebius gives this translation ; *περὶ ὧν τοῖς πρότερον δοθεῖσι πρὸς τὴν σὴν καθοσίωσιν τύπος ἕτερος ἦν.* On this translation it remains to be observed, that Eusebius renders *dicatio* and *officium* by the same word, *καθοσίωσις*, which Valesius properly translates *devotio* ; and consequently, that he falls precisely into the view which I have given of the disputed term, from the inscriptions dedicated to Constantine, and the Epistle addressed to that Emperor by Anulinus. As it thus appears, that this term is applied by the Prince to the subject, to remind him of his *duty* and allegiance ; and appropriated by the subject to himself, to express his submissiveness and *devotion* ; it is not merely absurd, but “ the perfection of absurdity,” to consider it an honorary title.

(4.) By what stretch of ingenuity, *dicatio* could be possibly proved the various reading of a tract, of which a second copy was never discovered in ms., it may be well conceived, I have some curiosity to be informed. But had there been a hundred recovered from the wreck of literature, and had ninety-nine of the hundred read *dignatio* and *dictatio*, into which I find the scribes of Augustine and Optatus disposed, in their infallibility, to transmute the disputed term ; I conceive there would not be ground to hesitate a moment in determining the genuine reading. Its being a term less plain and intelligible to these profound critics, would create no slight presumption in its favor ; were it not fixed beyond the possibility of dispute, by the translation of Eusebius, whose version of the Constitution in which it occurs was



most probably made from a transcript of the original instrument.

How far "the exposé of the Absurd Hypothesis" has reason to congratulate himself, on the result of his reference to "the Edict of Milan," may be now left to his own feelings to determine. In fact, an appeal to this Constitution, to which I originally referred the decision of the controversy, must, to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced mind, lay it effectually at rest. In this document, we have an example of an Imperial Letter, not merely directed to the ecclesiastical, but to the civil functionaries, who filled the highest office in the empire;\* an example by which the character of the disputed Epistle, addressed to the spiritual ruler of an eastern diocese, may be, of course, determined *a fortiori*. While all titles, whether of the prince or magistrate, are wholly disregarded in it; it is particular in specifying the *qualities* which they were required to exercise in the discharge of their respective functions. It represents the Emperors as appropriating to themselves the epithets "benevolentia nostra, clementia nostra," where the qualities of benevolence and clemency were exercised: as applying to the magistrate, the terms "dicatio tua, officium tuum," where devotion and duty were required, and "intercessio tua, sollicitudo tua," where intercession and diligence were to be exercised. But, what comes more immediately home to our purpose, Eusebius proves, by his manner of rendering this Letter of Constantine, that those honorary titles which appear so obvious to his defender, struck him in the vulgar light of ordinary qualities: as he not only

\* Euseb. Hist. Eccl. IX. i. 439, 24.



translates "benevolentia nostra, clementia nostra," by ἡμετέρα χρηστότης, ἡμετέρα καλοκἀγαθία, but, "officium tuum, dicatio tua," by ἡ σὴ καθοσίωσις, and, "intercessio tua, sollicitudo tua," by ἡ σὴ σπουδὴ, ἡ σὴ ἐπιμέλεια. Consequently, when his eye lit on the disputed phrase, δηλώσαι τῇ σὴ συνέσει, or its parallel, τῇς σὴς ἐπιμελείας ἔργον τὺτο γενήσεται, in the Letter addressed to him by Constantine; he could have been at no loss to determine, whether his Sovereign amused himself with conferring on him a set of honorary titles, until then unknown to his order; or whether, in an oblique compliment to his "consideration" and his "diligence," he merely insinuated those qualities which he required him to exercise, in acquitting himself in the task which he required him to perform.

Whether "the triumphant sneer"\* was out of place, "with which the Fabricator of the Hypothesis formerly concluded, 'That by the last example [ἡ σὴ ἐπιμέλεια] the nature and constitution of the very pretty puerility (that ἡ σὴ σέμεισις is a title) with which the examiner seems to have been so amusingly captivated, was sufficiently exposed,'" is again sent back to him, to consider it at his leisure. As he has chosen to figure in the character of an *Exposer* of my "absurd hypothesis," which is given a bearing on the disputed terms; he will probably, at the same time resolve, for his own satisfaction, a question of personal identity, arising out of the following very pertinent comment, subjoined by him to the preceding remark; which, I have no hesitation in pronouncing, every reader will easily solve for himself. "Here" (aiming a *soufflet*, that unfortu-

\* "Absurd Hypothes. &c. exposed," p. 12.

nately smites his own cheek) he smartly retorts, "is a slight mistake. *The Exposer* is exposed, "and by the worst person that could attempt it, "by himself."\*

3. It appears, however, that there is yet a reserve, by which, as the bed of Procrustes of old, the growing difficulties that embarrass our author's hypothesis, may, to any given length, be effectually laid at rest. After witnessing the decision of the controversy, by authority and example; we are next admitted into a knowledge of the secret, wherein the difference between a vulgar *quality* and an honorary *title* consists. It seems then, that when "there is a *personification* of the "quality specified,"† the plebeian term is atonce invested with nobility; and becomes an honorary title, with as much ease and expedition as the novice of la Mancha was metamorphosed into a knight, by "the cuff on the neck, and the thwack "on the shoulders."

This criterion for determining an honorary title being proposed, the dispute again finds a speedy termination. For, (1.) There is no personification of the quality, in the contested passage: and (2.) there is frequently a personification of the quality, where it is ludicrous in the extreme to suppose there is an honorary title.

(1.) Let any school-boy be applied to, for information on the subject, and he will inform the inquirer, that to personify *ζῦσις*, in the disputed phrase, it should be taken in an active sense, and made to govern, in the third person, the subjoined verb, *κελευσεῖας*, which is left wholly independent of it, and made dependant, in the second person, on

\* Absurd Hypoth. *ibid.*

† *Ibid.* p. 7.



the individual to whom the quality is applied. According to the Exposer's own version, the context runs, "It seems proper to signify to Your "Intelligence that *you* would order;"\* whereas a personification of the quality would require it to run, "that *Your Intelligence* would order."\* This distinction may be illustrated and confirmed by the genuine Epistles of Constantine, whether we suppose him to have written in Latin or Greek. In a Letter preserved in the former language, the phrase; "Sed cum dictationis (1. dicationis) tuæ "Scripta legissem, quæ . . . *Gravitas* tua mittenda "curaverat,"† in one preserved in the latter language, we read; οἷς [γράμμασιν] ἐντυχῆσα ἡ ὑμετέρα Στεφάνου δοκιμάσει . . . ὥστε μὴδὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιμέλειαν λατράνει.‡ In both these passages, there is a proper personification of the *quality*—Gravity; which, notwithstanding, is no more an honorary title, in consequence of the personification, than your "devotion," or your "solicitude," with which it is in both passages respectively attended, as my next observation will put out of dispute.

(2.) Had the quality been embodied and animated with the power of Poetry herself, something essentially different from personification would be requisite to elevate it into an honorary title. The dullest imagination will at once acknowledge a double personification, in the following passage extracted from the reply of Anulinus to a Letter of Constantine, which has already been submitted to the reader: § "cuncta, *Majestas* vestra possit dignoscere, *Parvitas* mea dirigere curavit." But the fancy would surely betray something of the

\* Remarks on a Pass. in Euseb. supr. p. 4.

† Constant. Ep. ad. Ablav. ap. Optat. p. 98. e.

‡ Id. Ep. ad. Miltiad. ap. Euseb. X. v. 484, 28.

§ Relat. Anulin. uti supr. p. 29.



exalted tendencies of the renowned Manchegan's brain (which had its predilections for the "título "peregrino á su parecer, alto, sonoro y significativo,"") that could discover in it a second title of honor. If, therefore, in this passage we have an example of a mere quality and an honorary title, in both of which the personification is equally marked; I humbly apprehend, that it is so far from constituting an essential difference, by which the title may be known, that it really places no difference between them.

But to expose the absurdity of the principle, in a manner more level to the capacity of my opponent; let us take it in a more tangible shape, and view it applied to a few familiar examples. A fertile source of the ludicrous lies in the absurd mixture of grandeur and meanness, which arises, when persons in a certain rank are dignified with high and inappropriate titles. As the figure of personification is natural to language in every age and state of society; we have only to open a book of any people or country, to find them invested, by this prolific principle, with an endless genealogy of honorary titles.

Titles are not often ascribed to those sober republicans, the Dutch and Swiss; but what wonders may be worked even in their favor, by the magic principle of personification, an example or two will serve to demonstrate. A Greek Patriarch, in correspondence with a Dutch Burgomaster, does meet honor, in the following words, to the Hollander's titles; "Ad quid ego tibi narram "ista? Ut videlicet intelligat *Prudentia tua*, in "hisce partibus esse difficile aliquid novum admittere."\* Whatever this correspondence may

\* Cyril. Lucar. ad M. Wytenbogaert. ap. Aymon. Monum. Authen. de la Rel. des Grecs. p. 131. à la Haye, 1703.

pretend to the contrary; surely "reasoning and "example" must lead us to conclude, that we have here, in the disguise of jacket and trunk hose, atleast a Bishop *in partibus*. Again, a smoking soaking Swiss is accosted; in the following high sounding *prosopopœia*, by a learned Greek chancellor, *μη ἀγνοῖται ἔν σοι ἡ Φιλία*.\* which his correspondent translates, "sciat igitur Amicitia tua." Surely if these grave gentlemen dare speak out, they would tell us what the personification makes but too plain; that we have here some titled Hospodar or three-tailed Bashaw, whose prerogatives entitled him to stow into his Harem atleast five hundred objects of affection, for the private gratification of "His Friendship."

Who could have conceived, that "His Holiness," the Emperor Constantius, who was an Arian and persecutor, was a sort of prototype to the Pope, in the assumption of spiritual titles? But to be convinced of what a loon the Sovereign Pontiff is, in respect of those honorable appellatives, when compared with "His Godliness" the Emperor, we have only to pursue the Apology addressed to him by St. Athanasius.† Plain readers might be, indeed, inclined to suppose, that the good father, in the choice of his compellatory terms, *ἡ σὴ εὐσεβεία*,‡ *ἡ σὴ θεοσεβεία*,§ which he perpetually sounds in the ears of his patron, merely intended an appeal to those *qualities* in the Monarch's breast, for which he gives him some cre-

\* Vid. Th. Zigomal. ad. M. Cruc. Turco Græc. p. 429. d.

† Vid. S. Athan. Apol. ad. Constant. Tom. I. p. 295.

‡ S. Athan. *ibid.* p. 296. d. 298. c. 302. b. 303. c. 305. d. 307. a. b. d. e. 308. d. e. 309. d. 310. b. 311. a. d. f. 313. c. d. 316. e. 317. d. 318. a. b.

§ Id. *ibid.* p. 296. a. 297. e. 298. a. 310. b. 312. f. 316. e.



dit, in the opening of his work,\* and of which he acknowledges he had experienced the effects, in some striking marks of personal favor. But let those who may feel disposed to such pretty puerilities turn to our author's profound remarks, on "the personification of qualities," and dismiss such school-boy conceits, and vulgar errors.

But how are we to exculpate those hypocritical knaves, the Monks, of whose mortifications and humility ecclesiastical history draws so flattering a picture? For, their pomps and vanities are at length dragged into light, as it appears, that, in nakedness and wretchedness, they were, in their honorary *titles*,† the rivals of Emperors and Bishops. The easy simplicity of our forefathers has been indeed inclined to acquit them of such carnal vanities, and has been so credulous as to believe, that in moral and religious *qualities*, they might have competed with their imperial and episcopal superiors; but unfortunately, they wrote and believed before the world was enlightened, by our learned author's remarks upon honorary *titles*: "*hinc illæ lacrymæ.*"

But, to give over trifling upon this subject, which, as inexpressibly ridiculous, sets all gravity at defiance: it is inconceivable how any person, not influenced by preconceived opinions, can read the Epistles of Constantine, and avoid coming to a just decision on the points in controversion. Though it is not unusual with the Imperial author to indulge in a personification of qualities, and use them as forms of compellation, the line is so decidedly marked between them and honorary titles, that it is not easy to conceive, how they should

† Id. ib. § 1 p. 295. a.

† Id. Epist. ad. Monach. tom. I. p. 243. c. e.



be for a moment confounded. In some instances, the nature of the quality is such as to unfit it for becoming a title; as in the phrases, "intentio nostra, jussio nostra,\* dicatio tua, sollicitudo tua, in-  
 "tercessio tua,"† which are not unfrequently employed in a personification. In some, the station of the persons addressed is such as to unfit them for being objects of titles; as when ‡ "gravitas vestra, sapientia vestra, sanctimonia vestra," are applied to the commonalty of the Church of Africa. In some, the disqualification consists not only in the nature of the quality, but in the assumption of it by the person to whom it applies; as when "§devotio mea, parvitas mea, devotio parvitatís  
 "meæ," are employed to express the devotion and humility of the speaker. Of these expressions, the Greek, ἡμετέρας κίλευσις, ἡ ᾤ καθοσίωσις, ἡ σὴ σωβδὴ, ἡ σὴ ἐπιμίλεια, ἡ σὴ σεβρότης, ἡ ᾤ φρόνησις, ἡ σὴ εὐσεβεία, ἡ σὴ ἀγχίνοια, &c., are but a literal translation. Now, while the terms, thus employed, are incapable of being considered titles, it is not to be disputed that they are significant of qualities. Nor is it to be denied, that they do not cease to be such, in consequence of being personified or used in the compellatory form of titles. If a doubt arise on this head, the following passage will place it beyond controversion, ἐπιστώσαντο περί τε τῆς σῆς φιλανθρωπίας, καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων πονηρίας; where it is ridiculous to suppose, that the terms thus opposed can be applied as titles.‖ The subjoined passage puts it equally

\* Const. Ep. ad, Univ. Episc. ap. Optat. p. 100. c. Id. ad Cels. ib. p. 100. d.

† Litt. Const. et. Licin. ap. Lactant. ubi supr. p. 245, 246.

‡ Const. ad. Episc. et. Pleb. Eccl. Afric. ap. Optat. p. 101. b. c. e.

§ Epist. Anulin. vide supr. p. 72.

‖ S. Athan. Apol. ad. Constant. § 35. p. 319. a. conf. p. 303. d. p. 305. e.

out of dispute, that the contested term was, in the common phraseology of the times, applied as a quality; ἔτι δὲ Κωνσταντῖου . . . καὶ Δικηνίου τι τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν συνόσι καὶ εὐσεβείᾳ τιμημένον.¶ It is therefore the shallowest sophistry to contend, that because this quality is personified, or used in a compellatory form, it is therefore used as an honorary title. And as, in the same age, the existence of honorary titles is without example or proof, and the form of compellation by characteristic qualities thus generally prevalent; it is palpably to oppose every sound principle of logic, to dispute, that the contested term is not used as a quality, but employed as a title.

4. Without much waste of time or research, the historical argument in favor of honorary titles, brought forward with so much confidence and parade, under Selden's name and authority, may be now laid at rest, as expeditiously as its predecessors. Whether any advantage accrues to my Exposer, from this argument, will then rest with the reader to decide; unless indeed he claims the benefit to be derived, from the opportunity it affords him, of proving to us, by a further exhibition of his accomplishments, how well he has learned ἐκτός χορῆ ὀρχεῖσθαι.

As it is admitted, that "the practice" (of applying complimentary titles to Ecclesiastics) "was first introduced, as intimated before, by Constantine himself," it would be no more than reasonable to conclude, that, in order to give Selden's opinion any bearing on the subject, he should, in tracing titles to their source, have been particular in specifying the ecclesiastical, have made his first reference to Constantine's Epistles,

• Euseb. Hist. Eccl. IX. ix. 450. 16.

and deduced his examples from those conferred on the Bishops. Instead of this, a page extracted from "the Titles of Honor" is spread before the reader, which, after much irrelevant matter on the titles of "the Emperors, Præfecti Prætorio, and "Proconsuls," at length informs us, that "in the same way came also, *Beatitudo tua, Sanctitas tua egregia, Dignatio tua, Præstantia tua, Serenitas tua*, and such more, in Letters to men of quality, either in the Church or *commonwealth*, as we see in *divers Epistles* among those of *St. Augustine, St. Hierome, in Cassiodore's Formulary, Symmachus, and others*, both of the ancient and *later times* to this day."\* As Jerome, Augustine, and Symmachus, flourished at the time of the incursion of the Goths, and Cassiodorus a century later, their authority is doubtless very decisive, as to the time of Constantine, when "the Empire was reduced under one ruler."† And though to ascertain the precise degree of its relevancy to the point in dispute, would most probably furnish a very profitable occupation for time and inquiry; so incorrigibly obstinate are some polemics, that "the Fabricator" still "turns contemptuously away from it, and still talks of the waste of research."‡

Nay, so incurable is this obstinacy with which polemics are chargeable, that "the Fabricator," still holding to his first position, perversely maintains, that while the historical argument is wholly beside the question; his opponent's disgraceful error is effectually refuted by the grammatical argument, by which it was formerly opposed. He

\* Absurd Hypothesis exposed, p. 10.

† Ibid. p. 9.

‡ Remarks on a Passage in Eusebius, p. 7.



still persists in asserting, as at the first, that “the phrase *δηλῶσαι τῇ συνείσει ὑμῶν*, in which the Exposer “discovers the titles of *atleast* five Bishops, (and “which, he must be now taught, is properly rendered, ‘signify to the intelligence *of you*,’) would “be just as inadmissable (as a title) in English as “it is in Greek; and could only be taken in the “sense which he ascribes to it, (‘signify to *Your* “‘Intelligences’) by violating the commonest principles of grammar; by confounding the singular\* “with the plural (intelligences,) and the personal “pronoun (*ὑμῶν*, of you) with the possessive (*ὑμετέραι*, “your).”

In reply to this objection of five years’ standing, we are now, on mature deliberation, instructed: that “the title, *your intelligences* would accord “with the analogy of the English language, as “well as your Excellencies, and is admissable “precisely on the same ground as this latter “word; namely, on the ground of being converted into a titular appellation.”† Which is doubtless very much to the purpose: but what remains to be done with “the intelligence of you,” which is the only point in dispute? Has this phrase any analogy to the English; or would its equivalent, “the excellency of you,” if offered, on the ground proposed by this exposer of absurdities, as a titular appellation, merit any answer but “a sneer?”

This objection, however, though not to be controverted, may be, it seems, easily blinked. To evade this difficulty, respecting the confusion of the personal with the possessive pronoun; with no inconsiderable address, we are “again referred, on “*the use of the pronoun*, where we were referred be-

\* *οὐκ ἔστιν.*

† Absurd Hypothesis exposed, p. 11.

"fore to Selden's learning and authority."\* From him we are accordingly informed, that "the Persian and Greek Emperors . . . often use the *singular* as well as the *plural*. But in the latter ages it is otherwise, and nothing is more common than *our* princely favor, *our* royal care, [for *my* princely favor, *my* royal care], and in the second person, *vobis*, *vester*, [for *tibi*, *tuus*], and the like, in expressions of, and to supreme princes, and from these, as other matters of honor, some inferiors take it by communication." All of which, as obviously applicable, in the royal or court style, to the use of the plural, "our, your, to you," for the singular, "my, thine, to thee," is again, doubtless, very much to the purpose. But it again, unfortunately, remains to be asked, what is still to be done, with the use of the personal pronoun, "of you, him," for the possessive, "your, his," in such phrases as "the excellency of you, or him," offered to us, as equivalent to the titles, "*your* Excellency, *his* Excellency?" And until this question is answered, how can the author of an appeal "to Selden's learning and authority," on the latter point, while so plainly deciding on the former, be acquitted of an intention to prevent the reader from beholding the truth, by flinging dust in his eyes: unless he pleads, in his defence, his deplorable incompetency from nature to perceive it? .

In fact, did not the controversy admit of a decisive termination from any other consideration; the present argument, by which its first mooter was obviously encouraged, through a confidence that it was unanswerable, to enter the lists, would be adequate to lay it eternally at rest. The

\* Ibid.

phrases, δηλῶσαι τῇ συνείσει ὑμῶν, δυνήσεται ὑμῶν ἡ σύνεσις\* originally adduced to confute me, are applied to the *Bishops* of Antioch. It is, however, clear, that they shared *one* common *quality* of "intelligence," or "consideration;" and that if they had any *titles*, they must have had *as many* as there were individuals. Consequently, as σύνεσις is applied to them in the *singular*, it must have expressed the *one* quality, not the *many* titles. And if this had not been decisive, "assurance was made doubly sure," inasmuch as that term, instead of being qualified by the possessive pronoun ὑμετέρας, is made dependant on the the personal ὑμῶν, by which it is reduced to the mere *quality* of the persons, which the pronoun expresses: as every person may be made sensible, by the literal translation of ἡ σύνεσις ὑμῶν, "the intelligence, or consideration *of you*." It was from these examples, let the Exposer now be informed, that the Fabricator acquired confidence atleast equal to that with which he had been confronted; in fact, it was from observing how the terms ἡ σύνεσις ὑμῶν were taken as synonymous with "your intelligences," that he became so "abusive, insulting and arrogant," as to inform his examiner in intelligible English, that "the manner in which he confounded the singular "with the plural, and the personal with the possessive pronoun, exhibited a knowledge of "Greek, which would disgrace a school-boy, who "had exercised his talent for two years in the acquirement of that language."†

III. "The phrase τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λόγῳ," we are informed, "will not occasion much trouble." I am

\* Ep. Constant. ap. Euseb. Vit Const. p. 619. l. 3. p. 620.  
l. 2. Case of Eusebius examined.

† Remarks on a passage in Eusebius, *supr.* p. 19.



inclined, notwithstanding to suspect, that the inward complacency, with which this part of the controversy is decided, will be as unexpectedly disconcerted by the following testimony extracted from Suicer, on the force of the term λόγος, as it was by that, formerly adduced from Du Cange, on the meaning of the term σύνεσις. I place the testimony of these learned expositors in the first rank, as they form no unsuitable companions. We have now taken our leave of the language of "courtly compliment and address," and enter on the heavy subject of ecclesiastical doctrine. On the phraseology of divinity, the authority of Suicer ranks not less high than that of Du Cange on the language of arts and manners. In laying the subjoined abridgment of his definition of λόγος before the reader, I shall only add, that had it been fabricated for my purpose, it could not have more explicitly confirmed my opinion. "Λόγος 1. Proprie, a. *Sermo* externus; b. *sermo* internus. 2. Improprrie. A. *Artificiosa oratio*; B. *doctrina*. c. "ratio, facultas animæ: d. *Secunda SS. Trinitatis persona*." Under "*oratio artificiosa*," he includes, "a. *oratio ethica, dogmatica*; b. *sermo exhortationis*; c. *sermo cognitionis, sermo sapientiæ*; "d. *oratio, sermo*; e. *prædicatio evangelii*; α λόγος ἀκοῆς; β λόγος σαυροῦ; γ θεόπνευστοι λόγοι." This last sense of λόγος, he thus explains and exemplifies:—"verba divinitus inspirata. Ita *Constantinus M.* apud *Theodoretum Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. cap. vi. p. 542*; "*doctrinam Evangel. Scripturis comprehensam, et* "ab Apostolis prædicatam nominat, quando episcopi in Concilio Nicæno congregatos, sic alloquitur; εὐαγγελικαὶ βίβλοι, καὶ ἀποστολικάι,"\* &c.

\* Suicer. Thesaur. Theol. sub, voc. λόγος. Tom. II. p. 251.

1. It now remains to be seen, with how "little trouble" to the undertaker, the signification "nature and constitution" may be appropriated to the term thus explained and exemplified. And as nothing costs a polemic less trouble than to beg a question; by the help of this expedient, we have accordingly assurance from the expositor, that he has \* "supported it by examples of similar phraseology in Eusebius:" an assurance, which would doubtless be very satisfactory, if the circumstance of similarity might be taken as granted, and did not remain to be proved. In the following four examples, which he accordingly offers, for the purpose of making good this assertion, we have his word (which by this time will no doubt go a great way with the reader), that the term λόγος has such a signification; ὁ τῷ Χριστιανίζοντι λόγος, ὁ τῆς ἑορτῆς λόγος, ὁ τῆς δικαίης λόγος and ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἐπιστήμης λόγος.

(1.) Now, admitting that the signification of λόγος, in these passages, is infallibly determined; we are naturally led to inquire, by what law of necessity it follows, that the signification of λόγος, in the disputed passage, ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λόγος, is similar. For, until this link is supplied in the magic chain of reasoning, by which our acquiescence is bound: however "little trouble" may be taken in deciding the question, some small share of it remains to be exercised, before we yield it implicit assent.

(2.) As I am, however, disposed to be liberal, I will make even this concession, and admit what the author gratuitously assumes, that the signification of the disputed term, in the preceding passages, is similar. But lest I should suffer by the

\* "Absurd Hypoth. exposed," p. 12.



consequences of my generosity, I must in this case beg leave to question the infallibility with which the precise signification of the term has been decided. And I believe I can justify this sceptical bias of my opinion by the authority of one, whose word will go a little farther than that of my opponent, which is at present our only security for the accuracy of the meaning, which the term under controversion has assumed, with so "little trouble" to the proposer.

For the credit of the five years' labor consumed by my expositor in getting up his present reply, it is to be observed, that Eusebius has bequeathed to us a short chapter,\* on the different meanings of the term λόγος; and that he has assigned it significations, which will naturally agree with the four preceding examples, but *none* "similar" to that which is now ascribed to it by his advocate and defender. He assigns it three proper and primary senses, (1) *reason*, (2) *articulate word*, or *speech*, (3) *written words*, or *composition*; under which he includes two remote and secondary significations, (4) *principle*, and (5) *science*, or *system*. While none of these significations is convertible with "nature or constitution," all but the first are convertible with "doctrine." This term, as every one must be sensible, may, in the second and third sense, be legitimately substituted for the "revealed word," or the "written word;" and no sense is more common in Theology. In the fourth sense, "doctrine" is interpreted, in our standard dictionary "the *principles* of a sect or master;"† and in the fifth, it is used by the best writers; as in Theology by Bishop Warburton, in treating "on the Doctrine of Grace," and in Science by

\* Euseb. de Eccles. Theol. Lib. II. cap. xiii. p. 123. ed. Par. 1628.

† Johnson's Dictionary, sub. voc. "Doctrine."



De Moivre, in treating "on the doctrine of Chances."

I maintain, therefore, that I have the countenance of Eusebius, in claiming the four examples cited by my opponent, *in support* of my hypothesis; and that I am justified in rendering them respectively, by the term "doctrine," instead of "nature" or "constitution;" "the doctrine of Christianity;" "the doctrine of the (Paschal) festival; the doctrine of right; the doctrine of ecclesiastical science." But if there is any person who may be disposed, in translating any of these four examples, to give "principle or system," the preference, as more immediately countenanced by Eusebius; he has my free leave to substitute either in place of "doctrine." They will be thus neutral, in the present dispute, and if they afford little countenance to my hypothesis, I am warranted, by the authority of Eusebius, in asserting, that they afford none whatever to that of my expositor; an authority which he must either reconcile with his definition of the disputed term, or abandon it, as a hopeless case, to the mercy of his opponent.

(3.) Besides the preceding definition of the disputed term, two other passages occur in Eusebius's works, which are so apposite to the occasion, that I cannot omit this opportunity of bringing them forward; in these, the term *λόγος* must be translated *doctrine*, if they are to be rendered into intelligible English. In one of these passages, *Eusebius*, speaking of the Trinity, as *a mystery not communicated to the uninitiated* in Christianity, uses these words,\* "in which mystery the doctrine of

\* Euseb. de Eccl. Theol. II. xxii. 140. c. ἐν ᾧ μυστηρίῳ ὁ περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος Πατὴρ καὶ Υἱὸς καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ὁ περιέχεται λόγος.

"the Holy Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost is contained." In the other, speaking of *Constantine*, within a few hours of his death, as *initiated in the mysteries of Christianity*, by the baptismal rite, he uses these words; "he having believed that he cleansed away these defilements of the soul, by the power of unutterable doctrines, the saving doctrine of ablution.\* On the appositeness of these quotations to the present controversy, it is to be observed, that those passages of Scripture, (1 John v. 7., &c.) which it is the proper object of my "absurd hypothesis" to prove genuine text, particularly relate to the mysteries; which if the bishop before us had laid open to the Emperor, by putting into his hands, previously to his introduction into the Christian covenant by baptism, those passages in which they are revealed, he would have incurred the odium, and obtained the appellation, of a traitor.

(4.) I am even disposed to wave the preceding advantages; and for the sake of the consequences, I will for a moment admit, that in the disputed passage, and the four extracts by which it has been illustrated, the contested term has not only "a similar meaning," but the identical significa-

\* Id. Vit. Constant. IV. lxi. 661, 4. Ταῦτ' ἀπορρήτῳ τῆς ψυχῆς λόγων ἀπορρήτων δυνάμει σωτηρίῳ γε λόγῳ λουτρῷ πιστεύσας. Valestius proposes reading σωτηρίῳ τε λουτρῷ, omitting λόγῳ, as occurring before. But I have no hesitation in believing, as the repetition is justified by the particle γε, that we should rather read λόγου ἀπορρήτων δυνάμει, σωτηρίῳ γε λόγῳ λουτρῷ; "by the power of the doctrine of unutterable (things), the saving doctrine of ablution;" λόγου being changed into λόγων by the attraction of ἀπορρήτων, with which it was supposed to agree. Parallel instances occur, in σωτηρίῳ λόγῳ, Præp. Evan. I. iii. 6. b. v. 14. b. and supposing λόγῳ to be equivocal, in τῆς σωτηρίας διδασκαλίας. Ib. V. i. 173. c.

tion, "nature and constitution." The context alone will then, or I am grossly deceived, do justice to the author, and vindicate the true sense, in which the term was originally employed. For let it be taken in connexion with the text, and what palpable nonsense arises from the meaning then superinduced on the sentence, in which it is asserted, that "the preparation and use of the Scriptures is necessary to the nature and constitution of the Church!"

The Church never has existed, and never could exist, without that which was "necessary to its nature and constitution;" it is, however, undeniable, that it existed for nearly a century, without "the use of the Scriptures;" that period having nearly elapsed before the canon was completed. Yet by the preceding interpretation it is not merely asserted, that "the use," but "the preparation of the Scriptures is necessary to the nature and constitution of the Church." Indeed so sensible was our author, that his interpretation might be pushed to this absurd consequence; that, in violation of all grammatical propriety, he wrests τῶ λόγῳ from its dependance on "ἀναγκαῖα ἵνα,"\* and offers, as the rendering of the disputed passage, "which you know to be necessary, *in consideration of, having regard to*, the nature and constitution of the Church."† On the other hand, there is *nothing* comprehended under the term "Church," to which "the Scriptures" are *equally necessary*, as to its "doctrine;" for they are its rule and canon, and nothing can be doctrine,‡ which does not originate in them, and depend on them, for its au-

\* Remarks on a Passage in Euseb. p. 14.

† Case of Eusebius considered, P. I. p. 6. supr. p. 4.

‡ This is in some degree admitted by Eusebius himself, in



thority and proof. And it is this fitness or relation of the terms conjoined in the context, (of "the Scriptures," [γραφῶν from γράφω] or *written word*, to "doctrine," [λόγος, from λίσω] or *spoken word*, which are the second and third senses ascribed by Eusebius to the disputed term) that, from the indisputable meaning of the one, directly determines that of the other; and as no such relation exists between λόγος, and any other word, proves it to be the most natural and apposite meaning that can be affixed to this term, in the sentence under consideration.

2. The assertion which I formerly made, that, to the Greek translator of Constantine's Epistle, "the word λόγος would be naturally suggested, by "any Latin term, by which *doctrine* is expressed,"\* needs no further illustration or proof but what it receives from the preceding extract from Suicer. But it was also a part of that assertion, that "no Latin word which expresses *nature* or *constitution* could have suggested the term λόγος." In answer to this objection, I am now informed, that, "if it is a Latinism, (and it will soon be insisted upon by the Fabricator, that the original Letter of Constantine to Eusebius was written in Latin) *ratio* is the original word, and not *doctrina*, for "διδασχῇ, or διδασκαλία would then have been the "equivalent in the translation, and not λόγος."†

the following passage, where λόγος obviously expresses the meaning of *doctrine*: Com. in Hesai. cap. xi. 9. p. 402. c. τὸ ὄρος . . . ἐκ ἄλλο τι δι τῷ εὐαγγελικῷ λόγῳ, ἵφ' ἑὶ οὗτος τῇ Θεῷ καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία αὐτῷ ὑποδόμηται; for he directly explains himself, by τὸν καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἰδρυμένον ἐκκλησίαν Θεῷ, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ κετελλομένην εὐσιβῆ γνώσιν; where λόγος, as explained by κετελλομένη εὐσιβῆς γνώσις, 'the sacred *knowledge preached*,' is obviously used in the sense of *doctrine*.

\* Remarks on a passage in Euseb. p. 4.

† Absurd Hypoth. exposed, p. 13.

(1.) It happens rather unfortunately, for the preceding part of this conjecture, that Eusebius has left several examples of the translation of the term *ratio*; but has shown an unlucky partiality, to express it, by λογισμός, instead of λόγος. In “the celebrated Edict of Milan,” he renders, “supradicta scilicet *ratione* servata,”\* by τῇ προειρημένῳ λογισμῷ δηλαδὴ φυλαχθέντος.† Again, the passage, “itaque hoc concilio salubri ac rectissima *ratione* ineundum esse credidimus,” he renders τοίνυν ταύτην τὴν βέλησιν τὴν ἡμετέραν, ὑγιεινῶς καὶ ὀρθοτάτῃ λογισμῷ ἰδογματίσθαι μιν.‡ The subjoined passage from the Edict of Galerius, may be offered as another example; ἐπίπαιρ τίνι λογισμῷ τασαύτη αὐτὸς πλεονεξία κατεσχένηται, which has been rendered from the original, “si quidem quadam *ratione* tanta eosdem Christianos nos voluntas invasisset.”¶ Nor let it be objected, that λογισμός, in these passages, is adopted for λόγος, because *ratio* is not taken in the sense of *nature* or *constitution*. Before this objection is deemed worthy of attention, let it be first shewn, how *ratio* was used in connexion with *ecclesia*, in the disputed epistle; and where λόγος is used in the sense of *nature* and *constitution*. Certain it is, that if the translation of the disputed passage, which was first offered by the Exposer, be supposed to express the sense of the original letter; it may be more easily converted into Greek, by the use of λογισμός than λόγος. As in the preceding passages, λογισμός is taken absolutely, and might not be unappropriately rendered by *consideration* or *regard*; I have little hesitation in pronouncing, that the Exposer’s sense, “of which in particular,

\* Lactant. uti supr.

† Lact. ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 404. 11.

† Euseb. uti supr. p. 483, 3.

§ Euseb. ib. p. 481, 21.

¶ Lact. ibid.

"you know the preparation and use to be necessarily, regard being had to (the nature and constitution of) the church," might be not inadequately expressed by ὡς μάλιστα τὴν τε παρασκευὴν καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν, τῷ πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν λογισμῷ φυλαχθέντος, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι γινώσκεις, whereas, it is not at all expressed, by the original which he professes to translate, ὡς μάλιστα τὴν τ' ἐπισκευὴν καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λόγῳ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι γινώσκεις. That Eusebius has taken greater liberties with his original, when he has employed the same word, the following translation will, I believe, fully demonstrate: in the Constitution which is before us, he renders, "hactenus fiet ut  
"sicut superius comprehensum est,"\* by, τετὰρ γὰρ τῷ λογισμῷ καθὼς καὶ προεῖπται.

But, without any regard to Eusebius's method of translating, the sophistry varnished over, in the preceding position, that "*ratio* is the corresponding Latin term to λόγος," may be easily exposed. That *ratio* may be rendered by λόγος is readily granted; but it is simply because they respectively mean *reason*, and its powers of *discourse* and *computation*; or, may be employed to signify an *account*, *plea*, *reason*, or *excuse*. But what have these significations to do with *nature* and *constitution*? which is no meaning of λόγος: nor indeed of *ratio*, if *constitution* is comprehended in the sense assigned this term; of which, by the way, *nature* is but a forced signification. It is not, therefore, to be maintained, that *ratio* could have in this sense suggested λόγος, unless by begging the very point in dispute, that λόγος means '*nature and constitution*,' of which we have not yet received a solitary example.

(2.) To revert to the subsequent part of the



Exposer's conjecture: after having assumed the liberty to render my translation "doctrine," by *doctrina*, (which is pretty nearly as good Latin, as *ratio* taken in conjunction with *ecclesia*, for *nature* and *constitution*;) he informs us, that διδαχὴ or διδασκαλία would then have been the equivalent in the "translation, and not λόγος." With his good leave, however, *doctrina*, as well as its equivalent διδαχὴ or διδασκαλία, properly mean nothing more than *teaching*;\* whereas *doctrine* signifies the *recondite principles*, and comprehensive *precepts* of theological science. In adopting this term in my English version of Constantine's epistle, it was my object to select a term which was adequate and intelligible; and the justice of the choice is fully confirmed by the definition given of λόγος, by Eusebius, the Greek translator of the epistle; with which I know no word in our language, that corresponds so exactly as *doctrine*. But had I been translating into Latin, *verbum* or *sermo*,† would have been my choice, as being atonce literal and intelligible, and adequately expressing the original. And either of these terms, I now venture to suggest as the word used in Constantine's original Latin epistle.

\* So the best masters of Latinity employ the word: Cicer. de Nat. Deor. I. xliii. 280. c. "Quæ est enim gens, aut quod genus hominum, quod non habeat, *sine doctrina*, anticipationem quandam Deorum." Conf. Orat. xxvi. § 12. p. 545. pro Arch. Poet. Lactant. Div. Inst. Lib. IV. cap. xxi. p. 332. "Ordinata discipulis suis Evangelica *doctrina*." S. Hieron. Præf. in Job. I. col. 395. "Memini me ob intelligentiam hujus voluminis, Lyddæum quendam præceptorem . . . non parvis redemisse nummis, cujus *doctrina* an aliquid profecerim, nescio."

† Thus we find the term rendered in the old Latin version of Barnabas: Epist. Cath. xi. γίγξαπται ἐν τοῖς δέκα λόγοις, ἐν οἷς ἐλάλησεν ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινᾶ scriptum est in *decem verbis*, quibus locutus est in Monte Sina ad Moysen.

The question, therefore, is not, as the Exposer would induce us to believe, between *doctrina* and *ratio*; but between *verbum* or *sermo ecclesiæ*, and *ratio ecclesiæ*; regarded as the rendering of ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λόγος; this phrase being taken in my sense, as “the doctrine of the church,” or in his, as its “nature and constitution.”

In determining the question, when thus fairly stated, I have no doubt or apprehension, that he will not himself hesitate a moment, however he may feel inclined to prolong the dispute, against the force of conviction. The phrase *ratio ecclesiæ*, no man need require to be told, is not Latin for “the nature and constitution of the church;” which is no translation of ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λόγος, and which reduces the context to palpable nonsense. On the other hand, the phrase *verbum* or *sermo ecclesiæ*, is the most literal Latin version of the Greek; and conveys the sense of “the doctrine of the church,” which is, above all others, that which is most required by the context. In this sense, the terms λόγος, *verbum* and *sermo* are frequently used in the Original Text of the Eastern Church, and the public version of the Western; and are thence transferred into the writings of the Fathers of both Churches. To take an instance or two, which are particularly in point, from the writings of one, who was not unskilled in Heathen classical language; St. Paul, addressing himself to Greeks and philosophers, uses the term λόγος in this very sense, in opposing the Christian doctrine to the Heathen philosophy;\* ὁ Λόγος γὰρ τῷ σαυρῷ τοῖς μέν ἀπολλυμένοις μαρτία ἐστὶ,† and shortly after, ἤλθεν ἐν καθ’ ὑπεροχὴν Λόγος ἡ σοφίας! . . . . καὶ ὁ Λόγος μετὰ τὸ κήρυγμα μετὰ ἡμῶν ἐν παιδοῖς ἀνθρώπων σοφίας λόγοις.‡ The former passage is ren-

\* Vid. Brucker, Hist. Phil. Tom. III. p. 265. c.

† 1 Cor. i. 18.

‡ Ibid. ii. 1.

§ Ibid. 4.

dered in the Latin Vulgate version; "*Verbum enim crucis pereuntibus quidem stultitia est,*" the latter, "*veni non in sublimitate sermonis aut sapientie . . . . . et Sermo meus, et prædicatio mea non in persuasibilibus humanæ sapientiæ verbis.*" These passages would have furnished Constantine with adequate authority, for the phrase which he used, whether we suppose him to have written in Latin or Greek, and to have followed the original, or the translation. And, if we are not rather in love with our own errors, than disposed to embrace the truth, they seem not to leave us much room to fluctuate in our choice, between *ratio ecclesiæ* and *verbum* or *sermo ecclesiæ*, as the original of ὁ τοῦ ἐκκλησίας λόγος, in the Latin letter addressed by Constantine to Eusebius. The issue to which the controversy is thus brought, will, I trust, now fully testify, how far I was right, in asserting at the first, that "the question, when reduced to these grounds, would not admit of a moment's deliberation."\*

(3.) In placing the controversy on these grounds, and assuming what I have since fully proved, that the original letter of Constantine was not drawn up in Greek; I indeed maintained, "that, by whomever drawn up, if it was submitted for the approbation of the Emperor, . . . it must have been submitted in *Latin*, as Constantine was acquainted with no other language."† In the confidence of a triumph fated as usual to terminate in disgrace, the Exposer applies his strength in subversion of this assumption. He accordingly informs us, "the reason why the Emperor used *Greek* is recorded in *unsuspecting sentences*, and "it is the simple and plain reason *because he un-*

\* Remarks on a passage in Eusebius, p. 17.

† Ibid. p. 16.



"*derstood it.*"\* So much for our author's position; next follows his proof: and in reference to the Council of Nice, he accordingly adds, "Eusebius describes his condescending and affable behaviour, and his conversation with the bishops in their own language; † πράως τε ποιούμενος τὰς πρὸς ἑκάστον ὁμιλίας, ἰσχυρίζων τε τῇ φωνῇ ὅτι μὴδὲ ταύτης ἀμαθῶς εἶχε, γλυκερός τις ἦν καὶ ἡδύς.\* It seems then that the Emperor, who removed the seat of the Roman government to Byzantium, *actually understood the Greek language.* On one side you have a Bishop, a contemporary and friend, *affirming* that this prince understood Greek: and on the other an ecclesiastic, not yet a Bishop, and living in the nineteenth century, affirming that the Emperor understood no other language than Latin." Decisive as this authority may be deemed, I am sadly deceived or it will eventually prove to be the fact, that its author merely intended to commend the Emperor's affability of manners, and by no means to celebrate his proficiency in languages.

(1.) As the above passage relates to what happened in the Synod of Nice, and as *Latin* Bishops assisted at that council; I apprehend it may, without any stretch of sagacity, be inferred, that the Emperor neither excluded them from his courtesy, nor, in order to testify it, addressed them in an unintelligible language. From the words ποιούμενος τὰς πρὸς ἑκάστον ὁμιλίας, we are therefore, no more justified in concluding, that the Emperor's *conversations* were carried on in Greek than in Latin. Nor should it be forgotten, that, in the former language, they might have been carried on through the medium of the Greek interpreter,

\* Euseb. Vit. Const. III. 581.

whom Constantine unquestionably employed in addressing this assembly; and for whom, it seems difficult to conceive, how he could have found any employment, had "he actually understood" the language.

(2.) But we are told, "the reason why the Emperor used Greek is recorded in *unsuspecting sentences*;" in corroboration of which, our attention is directed, through the medium of capitals, to the phrase, ἑλληνίζων τε τῇ φωνῇ ὅτι μηδὲ ταύτης ἀμάθως ἔχῃ. Doctors will, however, unfortunately differ; in every term of this "*unsuspecting sentence*," it is my judgment or conceit, that Eusebius conveys much more than a *suspicion* of the truth of what he barely insinuates, and with all the hesitancy of a man who paid an overstrained compliment against conviction. He uses the word ἑλληνίζων which properly means "*imitating the Greeks*,"\* not speaking or understanding their language: he employs φωνή, which properly means the voice, not γλῶττη, which properly signifies the language;†

\* On verbs in ἵζω, the acute Cattier gives the following canon; Gazophylac. Græc. I. ii. 5. p. 7. "Canon; Verba in ἵζω "significant . . . imitationem, ut ἑλληνίζω, Græcos imitari." The following examples will prove the accuracy of this definition; "Ἀρχαίζω, antiquitatem seu antiquos imitor. Glos. Vet." Hed. Lex. sub voc. "Λισβίζω, id. quod λισβιάζω, Lesbiorum mores obscenos imitor." Ibid. "Φρυγίζω, Phrygios mores imitor, Steph. Thes." Ibid. "Σκυθίζω Scythos imitor . . . ebrius sum." Ibid. "Σκυθίζω, i. e. Scythorum more bibendo helluor." Hoogveen Dict. Analog, p. 522. n. 8. Ed. Cant. Thus also Porphyry, speaking of Origen, uses the word, as quoted by Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. VI. xix. 281, 9. "A Greek, and instructed in the Greek compositions, he declined to the barbarian ruggedness . . . and *imitating the Greeks*, in his opinions about things and the Divinity, (κατὰ τὰς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῷ θεῷ δόξας ἑλληνίζων) he blended Greek matters with foreign fables."

† Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 248. a. Φασὶ δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες . . . τὰς βαρβάρων φωνὰς, μηδὲ διαλέκτους ἀλλὰ γλώσσας λέγεσθαι.



and in declining to qualify it with a pronoun, leaves it doubtful what speech was the object of imitation: he connects the verb ἔχει, denoting possession, not according to its proper regimen, with the accusative, which would have signified attainment, but with the genitive ταύτης, in the sense merely of participation of the qualification; and he qualifies the verb, thus used, not with an adverb expressing knowledge, but with one signifying ignorance, ἀμαθῶς,\* which is neutralised by another negative, μηδὲ; though in the language in which he wrote, this mode of asserting is peculiarly weak, as in it, a double negative is not equivalent to an affirmative. This, I am prepared to admit, might be a tolerably just description of a certain editor of Strabo's knowledge of Greek; but let no man presume to assert, that, if a prince made any pretensions to skill in a language, it would be recorded in such terms by his panegyrist, in a work intended for his sons and successors.† In the passage before us, Constantine's affability of manners is recorded in no such equivocal terms; γλυκερός τις ἦν καὶ ἡδύς. And at the distance of a few lines, Eusebius speaks in very different terms of the language in which the Emperor addressed the Nicene council; and of the interpreter whom he employed to translate it; ὁ μὲν δὲ ταύτ' εἰπὼν Ῥωμαίᾳ γλώτῃ, ὑφ' ἐρμηνεύοντος ἑτέρου, παρεδίδοτο τὸν λόγον

\* The double negative would be properly expressed by the compound παρά: as in a Letter ascribed to Demetrius Phalereus and quoted by Eusebius, *Præpar. Evangel.* VIII. iii. 351. b. *πεποιημένος ἢ παρέργωγος*. In a Letter of Constantine's, addressed to Eusebius, we meet indeed with ἐκ ἀνάξιον; but it is a Latinism, evidently derived from *non indignum*, and among the internal proofs that the original was written in Latin; vid. Euseb. *Vit. Constant.* IV. xxxv. 645, 26.

† Euseb. *Vit. Const.* I. i. p. 498, 4.



*the the Greek version.* \* One should think, it would have been just as easy for Eusebius to have declared his sovereign's proficiency in Greek, in similar language, instead of "the unsuspecting sentences in which it is recorded;" as he might have just as easily said, *ἡμεῖς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἀπὸς τῆς ἑλληνικῆς, ὡς καὶ τὸν ἑλληνικὸν, τὸν τῶν αἰώνων ἀρχὴν, γλῶσσαις καὶ ἰδίᾳ.* Had he used this language, he might have been said to have *affirmed* that his prince "actually understood Greek:" in that which he has used, so far is he from having affirmed that he has in every term evaded the assertion.

(3.) Some importance seems, however, to be annexed to the circumstance, that Constantine transferred the seat of government from a Latin to a Greek soil. As the incident before us relates to what happened in the council of Nice, it must have occurred before August 24, in the year 325, when that council dispersed:† but unfortunately, even the foundation of the new capital was not laid until November 26, in the year 328,‡ the encœnia of its dedication not celebrated until May 8, in the year 330.§ The idea even of transferring the seat of empire was not formed earlier than between July and September of the year 326; and was then conceived, in consequence merely of a disgust which the Emperor conceived against the Roman senate, for resisting his efforts to suppress the national superstitions.|| "It seems then," to conclude in the exposé's words, "that the Emperor, who removed the seat of the Roman go-

\* Id. *ibid.* III. 584, 25.

† Gothofred. *Chronol. Cod. Theodos. ad. Ann. 325. p. xxv.*

‡ Id. *ibid.* An. 328. p. xxx.

§ Id. *ibid.* ad An. 330. p. xxxi.

|| Id. *ibid.* ad An. 326. p. xxv.

“vernment to Byzantium, *actually* understood the “Greek language.”

But jests apart: in estimating Eusebius's testimony on Constantine's proficiency in Greek, would it not be a little more wise and safe to reason in the following manner? Previously to September 24 in the year 324, when Constantine having overthrown Licinius and entered Nicomedia, his capital, became sovereign of the East; he had not the slightest inducement to apply himself to the study of the Greek language. But from that period, until the convening of the council of Nice, on May 25, 325, notwithstanding the cares of government with which he was pressed, he had every inducement, and sufficient opportunity to acquire a few of its colloquial and complimentary phrases; to be occasionally employed in his intercourse with that portion of his subjects by whom it was vernacularly spoken. This obvious course, which he might have followed, as it has been followed by many princes entering on the government of a foreign country, will hardly form a foundation adequate to support a reputation for knowledge of such a language as the Greek, yet we have no foundation for imputing more than this to Constantine. Few persons will, I trust, be found to dispute that this statement does not agree with Eusebius's account of his conduct in the council of Nice, which may be thus rendered, so as to preserve its ambiguity; and “mildly addressing conversations to each of them, and imitating the Greeks in (his or their) speech, for he did not participate ignorantly in it, he was “pleasing and amiable;” at least as well as it agrees with the statement of the expositor, “the “reason why the Emperor *used Greek*, is recorded

"in *unsuspecting* sentences, and it is the simple  
"and plain reason 'because *he understood it.*'"

If it be now asked, on what grounds I have concluded, that Constantine was not acquainted with Greek; my reply is, on pretty nearly the same grounds, as I conclude that he was not acquainted with Hebrew or Syriac. His life, which was rather active than contemplative, was passed in a part of the world, in which the European language was not less disregarded than the Oriental. Nor was he impelled by natural inclination to contend with the discouraging obstacles which opposed the acquirement of a language, at all times difficult in the attainment. The bias of his character was not literary, like that of his successors, Julian and Theodosius II., but decidedly military and political. The interest taken in Greek literature had long been extinct in the West, into which it had been but accidentally introduced, by the mission of Carneades to Italy; having been principally indebted, for its cultivation, to the intercourse opened with Greece in the Mithridatic war, and to the acquisition of Apellicon's library, which Sylla transported to Rome, from the Pireus. It was but partially revived under Constantine's successor, Constantius, in consequence merely of the banishment of a few bishops, into the East; among whom were Eusebius of Verceli, Lucifer, and Hilary, who were exiled on account of their religious opinions. But the progress of literature having been soon after arrested, by the incursion of the Goths, it never completely revived, until the encroachment of the Turks compelled Chrysoloras, Argyropylus, and other learned Greeks, to take refuge in Italy. Had Constantine possessed so extraordinary an endowment, he



wanted not occasions to exercise, nor ambition to display it; and his biographer and panegyrist would have gladly seized the opportunity, to magnify the attainment of his hero. But on this subject, unless when he finds occasion to celebrate his affability in the council of Nice, he preserves the most obstinate silence; and while he is particular in stating, that the Emperor corresponded with the Bishops in Latin, though he quotes several of his epistles in Greek, stating some to be translations, he nowhere hints that one of them was an original. I have already alluded to his having employed a Greek interpreter, in addressing the Council of Nice; but two circumstances, recorded by Eusebius, carry to my mind irresistible conviction.

(1.) He informs us,\* that the Emperor composed his orations in Latin, and that persons, whose office it was,† translated them into Greek; but expressing some apprehension, lest this statement of his Sovereign's literary pretensions might appear fabulous, he declares his intention to subjoin, at the end of his work, a specimen of the translations. If Constantine actually composed in both languages, is not this statement, which is intended for praise, a detraction from his merit? For surely, if he possessed the talent of writing Greek, it was injustice to so rare an endowment, to omit all mention of it, and inform us that he retained a Greek interpreter, without dropping a

\* Euseb. Vit. Const. IV. xxxii. 643, 30.

† Suetonius celebrates Augustus's proficiency in Greek; but speaks of it, in the following terms. Octav. cap. lxxxix. "Ne Græcarum quidem disciplinarum leviori studio tenebatur.... non tamen ut aut loqueretur expedite, aut componere aliquid auderet. Nam et si quid res exigeret, Latine formabat, vertendumque alii dabat."

hint, that he could have dispensed with his services. (2.) At the distance of a few pages, the biographer quotes one of Constantine's Letters at length, in which the Emperor justifies\* his confidence, in speaking of a tract, which Eusebius drew up at his desire, by informing him, that "persons not incompetent were found to translate his works into Latin." If Constantine understood Greek, why, I would ask, should he employ an interpreter; why justify his confidence of the merits of a work, by referring to a translation, when, on his own experience, he might have referred with greater confidence to the original? If these intimations, from the panegyrist of an Emperor, do not lead us into a knowledge of the true state of the case; I could wish to be informed, what species of testimony may be deemed necessary to influence our credence? Will it be said, that before we yield up our assent, the biographer should give a formal declaration, under his hand, that the Emperor was ignorant of the language spoken by one half of his subjects? I could wish to see how those, who indulge so unreasonable an expectation, can reconcile it with the jealous care manifested by Eusebius, in vindicating Constantine's reputation as a Latin composer.

IV. On the Exposer's rejoinder to "the Post-script" of my former reply, it cannot be deemed necessary, that I should now bestow much time or trouble. But as he must obviously depend on this portion of his work, for a justification of the character, in which he has chosen to figure, and of the title, on which his pretensions are blazoned,

\* Id. *ibid.* xxxv. 645, 24.

as "an Exposer of the Absurd Hypothesis, that "Eusebius, Bishop and Historian, was an editor "and corrupter of the Holy Scriptures;" some of the absurdities which have exercised his talent are not unentitled to a brief consideration.

1. The word "edition," we are informed, in the standard dictionary of our language, means "1. *publication* of any thing, particularly of a "book."\* This authority, it might be conceived, would be definitive, as to the use of the word; and the author of an English work, who could plead that he had employed it in no other sense, might be thought to deprive even the most pertinacious wrangler of all pretext for converting it into the subject of a squabble. Our critic, in drawing up the title on which his pretensions are recorded, was, it appears, in a different mood: for he here finds, or fancies, not merely an error meriting reproof, but an absurdity deserving exposure.

"In passing to the Fabricator's postscript," he observes, "I repeat the assertion which I formerly made, that Eusebius did not publish an *edition* of the Scriptures."† So much for the objection, let us now attend to the impregnable grounds on which it is urged. "Eusebius procured *fifty copies* of the Scriptures, to be transcribed by able penmen, upon the best parchment. If he erased or suppressed any portion, *it* [the fifty] was a fraudulent *copy*, but no *edition* of the Scriptures."‡ "Ut esse cœpisti sic es tu ἄλξ mera." What a glorious specimen we have here of the talent of exposing absurdities! Can this drivelling, I could wish to know, be deemed worthy of an answer; or is it necessary to

\* Johnson's Diction. v. "edition."

† Absurd Hypoth. exposed, p. 20.

‡ Ibidem.



inform the author of this senseless trash, that his *objection* is so superlatively "absurd," that he cannot find language to express it, which is not at variance with sense and grammar?

Stupid, however, as the blunder is, it has some craft at bottom. When the object is to confound the truth, it may be sometimes expedient to secure it, at the expence of sense and grammar. Had we been told in direct terms, "that *fifty copies* were no edition;" the assertion would have been atonce exposed to derision; as, under the ancient mode of publication, when few authors could retain six or seven scribes, twelve copies of some works formed an extensive edition, and fifty copies of the whole body of the Scriptures, which could have been scarcely comprised in two hundred volumes, and which required two waggons to transport them, constituted an enormous edition. It was therefore, for good and sufficient reasons, that the "fifty copies," in the preceding part of the objection, were, by the interposition of the pronoun "it," juggled into "a fraudulent copy;" for the change being thus put upon us, we were then prepared to hear, that it was "no edition." As the Exposer, after the intervention of two lines, proceeds, in describing this fraudulent work, to speak of "*an act of knavery*, and not of "criticism;" may we not suspect, that, in this case, the dupe of his own art, deceived by some change or trick of legerdemain, glances at his own work, while he talks of that of Eusebius.

It seems, however, that another reason, as good and sufficient, remains in reserve, to prevent even "fifty copies," however put forth, from being considered *an edition*. We have already heard Dr. Johnson's definition of the term; a critic of a high-

er order commands our respect; let us attend to his distinctions; "A copy of the Scriptures with  
 "a list of Scripture texts was an edition; with a  
 "prologue or preface to the several parts, was an  
 "edition; with a comparison of other texts was an  
 "edition; with the variation of other MSS. was an  
 "edition."\* May we now ask this subtle distinguisher, in what nondescript class are we then to place the *editio princeps* of most works, which is generally but a republication of a particular manuscript? In what class may we hope to find the *editio recepta* of the Greek Vulgate, which has occasioned the present dispute, when, in compliance with these distinctions, it is struck off the list of editions?

The expositor of absurdities has been already taught the meaning of the English word edition, to which he thus annexes his own sense; a little time may not be now thrown away, in letting him into the meaning of the correspondent Greek and Latin terms, as employed by the ablest Scripture critics.

The terms *ἔκδοσις*, *editio*, as the derivation of these words from *ἐκδίδωμι*,† *edere*, to *put forth*, atonce pro-

\* Absurd Hypoth. exposed, p. 20.

† Socrates employs *ἐκδίδωμι* in this sense, speaking of Chrysostome's Discourses; Hist. Eccl. VI. iv. 313, 16. "How splendid and insinuating were both the Discourses *published* by him (οἱ τε ἐκδοθέντες παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι,) and delivered by him, and taken down by the swift-writers, what need is there to mention." And Constantine himself employs the same word in speaking of "the Discourse on Easter," which Eusebius drew up by his order; "I read the book with pleasure, and for the many who apply sincerely to the service of religion, according to your wish, commanded it to be *published*, (καθὰ ἐβηλῆθης ἐκδοῦναι "προ(ί)ταξα.") Here we observe that Eusebius's works were *published* through the intervention of Constantine: the remark is now made to obviate any cavil which may be raised to the *publication* of his Bibles, as having been directly transmitted

claims, are synonymous with the word *edition*, taken in the sense of *publication*. In this sense the term is applied by Origen, not merely to the editions of the Greek text, incorporated in the Tetrapla, but to the original Hebrew; "since in the Tetrapla," he declares, "from which the copy was transcribed, according to the order \*in the Hebrew, and the other editions, that of the Septuagint is shewn to be transposed in many places."† The same language is applied to the Original Text by St. Jerome, "quod nos juxta *editionem Hebræorum*, quæ κατ' ἀκριβειαν legitur, in "tyrannos" vertimus."‡ That the learned father means the original Hebrew, which he continually calls "the Hebrew verity;" the terms κατ' ἀκριβειαν, put out of dispute, as must appear from the subjoined expression used by Eusebius in referring to it, κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραϊκὴν ἀκριβειαν.§ By Eusebius himself, the term is used in the same sense, in speaking of the editions incorporated in the Tetrapla, he describes Origen as "having separately compiled || the edition of Aquila Symmachus and Theodotion, together with that of the Septuagint, in the Tetrapla."¶ We again find the same language applied to those editions in the same work by St. Jerome; "et certe Origenes non solum exemplaria composuit quatuor editionum, e regione singu-

to the Emperor. In describing the different classes of text, St. Jerome uses the words, "*Palæstinos codices, quos ab Origine elaboratos, Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt.*" Præf. in Paralipom. Tom. I. p. 343.

\* ἐν τῇ Ἑβραϊκῇ, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐκδόσεσι, δέικνυται καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐβδόμη κοινία.

† Origen. Select. in Gen. xlvii. 4. Tom. II. p. 50. d.

‡ Hier. Com. in Dan. i. Tom. V. p. 496. b.

§ Euseb. Com. in Psalm xxviii. p. 107. c.

|| τὴν Ἀκύλῃ καὶ Συμμάχῃ καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος ἐκδοσιν ἅμα τῇ τῶν Ὁ'.

¶ Id. Eccl. Hist. VI. xvi. 277, 3.



"la verba describens. . . . sed quod majoris audacia est in *editione LXX*. Theodotionis *editionem* miscuit."\* Of not one of these publications does it happen to be the case, that it possessed a single characteristic distinction of those which our critic pronounces essential to an edition. The Hebrew original never possessed them; and the several editions of the Greek translation contained nothing more than it possessed, even in those books, which admitted of short notices in the form of inscriptions.†

From the solidity with which our critic has laid his foundation, it may be pretty well conjectured, by those who have ever heard of Eusebius's canons, that absurdities are somewhere likely to be exposed, before we have done with the consideration of Eusebius as "*an editor of Scripture.*"

2. The Exposer proceeds; "I have said *the dispersion* was just as fanciful as the existence of "such an edition."‡ Reserving for a different occasion the passage in which I had made and proved my assertion;§ as Aquinas confuted the Abbot Joachim of old, he unanswerably refutes the position, by cutting out the part by which it was established. The breach which has been thus honestly made in my context and reasoning, I shall take leave to make up, in restating his objection; by supplying in brackets, the passage

\* Hier. Præf. in Paralip. Tom. III. p. 343. c.

† Euseb. Com. in Psalm. Præf. p. 2. d. p. 7. e. et Ps. xlii. p. 178. c. In some passages of his Ecclesiastical History, VI. xvi. Eusebius obviously alludes to "a notice" prefixed by Origen to "one" of the versions; and to "the notices" prefixed to some of the Hebrew books, particularly that of the Psalms.

‡ Absurd Hypoth. exposed, p. 20.

§ Inquir. into Integr. of Gr. Vulg. p. 28.

he omits, which, however unsuitable to his arguments, affords mine some slight confirmation. "Constantine is elsewhere described" by me "as  
 "the pious Emperor who had employed Euse-  
 "bius to revise the text,' [and—'had been at  
 "considerable pains and expence to multiply  
 "copies of the Scripture. Euseb. Vit. Const. III.  
 "i. 576, 15.]" We have again 'an edition of the  
 "'Scriptures for general circulation,' although the  
 "letter speaks of *the fifty copies*, as especially de-  
 "signed for *the converts* and *the new Churches*."\*  
 On this passage from the Letter, and that from  
 "the Life," which has been suppressed, let me be  
 now suffered to offer a few observations.

(1.) Let the Letter be inspected once more; and the inquirer will perhaps find, that it specifies no such designation of "the fifty copies;" but, with a slight variation from the preceding statement, represents "the *new Churches* as designed "for the converts.†" It may be at the same time possibly discovered, that it speaks of the Emperor as enjoining, that the fifty bodies of Scripture 'furnished by Eusebius' should be—  
 εὐανάγνωσά τε καὶ πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν εὐμετακόμισα,‡ which Vale-  
 sius renders, "qui et legi facile, et *ad omnem usum*  
 "*circumferri possint*."§ And if the phrase is re-  
 duced to the language in which the original of the  
 Letter was written, as the Greek compounds,  
 εὐανάγνωσά τε καὶ εὐμετακόμισα, must be broken up, the  
 sense cannot be conveyed in less forcible terms,  
 than the learned editor of Eusebius has chosen.  
 Even when it is expressed in the most literal

\* Absurd Hypoth. exposed, p. 33.

† Euseb. Vit. Const. IV. xxxvi. 646. 6—11.

‡ Id. ibid. l. 15.

§ Absurd Hypoth. exposed, p. 33.

manner, "quingenta corpora, facile legenda, "*ad usum bene circumferenda*;" I should be glad to be informed, what it can mean, but that "those "copies were intended *for circulation*."

(2.) With respect to the passage from "the "Life," that I have restored in brackets, which has slipped so inadvertently out of the Exposer's context, and which specifies "the pains and expence at which Constantine had been *to multiply "copies of the Scripture*," our critic, as short-sighted as in his search for the preceding passage of the Letter, can discover in it only this sense; "Constantine out of the royal treasure *furnished a "great many copies*" of the Scriptures. Let the original of this passage, likewise, be inspected once more, and it will perhaps be discovered, that the historian's words are, ταῦτα [τὰ θεόπνευστα λόγια] πληθύνειν . . . ἐνομοθετεῖ;\* which, with the objector's good leave, expresses not merely Constantine's pains "*to multiply the sacred oracles*," but that "he "passed a law" for the purpose. In the perverse tendency which this passage has betrayed to keep out of sight; both these circumstances, which introduce some little embarrasssment to our critic, in working out his conclusion, have escaped his observation or remembrance, to which they are now recommended.

Let me however put him out of pain, on the subject of this law passed by Constantine, for multiplying the Scriptures; towards which he seems so little affected, as to betray a reluctance even to mention it. I am prepared to concede, that it means nothing more, than that he despatched the Letter to Eusebius, in which he required him to furnish fifty copies of the Scriptures. Nor

\* Euseb. Vit. Const. III. i. 576, 17.



will this conclusion admit of any doubt, when it is considered that in Imperial Letter was ~~essentially~~ and property a law \* that Eusebius speaks of the copies thus "multiplied," and of the fifty which he was commanded to supply, in precisely the same terms, as "furnished out of the royal treasury," and "magnificently ornamented;" and that he is wholly silent respecting any other Constitution issued by Constantine for the multiplication of the Scriptures. But let not my hesitancy in conceding so much be misunderstood; this concession is not without a design. For it is thence ~~expressly~~ to be concluded, that Eusebius was the instrument of whom Constantine made use, in procuring a law to multiply the copies of Scripture.

On the *partial* concession of Eusebius's *express*, I shall again quote the opinion of a critic, who, *was* as influenced by attachment to theory, as *preferably* versed in the history of the Sacred Text. In referring to the mandatory Letter of Constantine, he deduces from it the following conclusions: "*Quo mandato accepto, Eusebius quinquaginta illos codices magnifice ornatos duobus vehiculis publicis Constantinopolin misit . . . Sed et eadem occasione accidisse puto, ut libri illi pauci veteres, qui ex incendio Diocletiani, manibusque traditum salvi evaserant, prae uocis istis Regiis Codicibus sorderent, atque vilescent, passimque reponerentur, sicque paulatim neglecti interirent.*"† Such was the fatuity which possessed this incorrigible dunce, in adopting "an

\* Vid. *supr.* p. 62.

† Conf. Euseb. *ibid.* III. i. 576, 15, 18. IV. xxxvii. 646, 36, 23.

‡ Wetstein. *Prolegom.* in *Nov. Test.* p. 70.

"absurdity," which has received an exposure from one wise critic, as rational as it is learned!

3. The main position of my "Absurd Hypothesis" remains to be considered; "that Eusebius of Cæsarea, Bishop and Historian, was a corrupter of the Holy Scriptures:" inasmuch as he suppressed or altered the following passages in the circulated edition, Mark xvi. 9—20, John viii. 1—11, Acts xx. 28, 1 Tim. iii. 16, 1 John v. 7.

That the success of the Exposer, in carrying his professions into effect, may be fully appreciated, I shall lay the position, as originally expressed by me, once more before the reader. "The probabilities are decidedly in favor of *Eusebius having expunged*, rather than the *Catholics having inserted*, those passages in the Sacred Scripture."\* In the difficulties between which we were thus left to make our choice, and out of which I could discover no mode of being extricated, but by a hypothesis; that which I believed adequate to their solution, I undertook to support on the possibility of "establishing two points, *against Eusebius*; that "he wanted neither the *power* nor the *will* to suppress those passages."† Having offered my reasons, at length, in support of this double position; I suggested the following objections for the solution of any controvertist, who might undertake to maintain its contradictory. "However unsatisfactory my hypothesis may be deemed, it leaves any other to which it may be opposed involved in difficulties, which challenge a solution. Of the *five* remarkable passages which are missing in the earliest manuscripts, *two* were

\* Inquir. into Integr. of Gr. Vulg. p. 27. vid. Remarks, *supr.* p. 21.

† Inquiry, *ibid.* vid. *supra.* p. 22.

"certainly omitted in Eusebius's *Canons*: and  
 "the remaining *three* were evidently *opposed* to  
 "his known Anti-Sabellian *antiphrases*. If the  
 "act of their expunction be ascribed to him, the  
 "undisputed fact of their removal from the Sacred  
 "Text becomes a proof of the truth of *my* assumption.  
 "If the act be ascribed to any other hand,  
 "it constitutes a difficulty, which requires a solution.  
 "For it thus remains to be explained, how  
 "*those* passages, and *only those*, should have been  
 "*suppressed*, \*or interpolated, admitting them to be  
 "spurious, which were opposed to Eusebius's peculiar  
 "opinions."†

Though the Fabricator of the Hypothesis, while left in unmolested possession of this ground, is justified in considering his position invincible; even though his magnanimous opponent had fully succeeded in his vigorous attack upon *two words*, in the Epistle of Constantine: not a show of resistance is made to this denance, though in it, Eusebius stands convicted, on the testimony of his *own Canons*, of being "a corrupter of the Holy Scriptures."

Although means are not easily attained to refute a hypothesis: presumption may be easily found to talk of its absurdity and exposure. The task of substantiating this charge finally devolves, as a forlorn hope, upon a *scholium* subjoined to a MS. of Euthalius's edition of the Pauline Epistles;‡ the copies of whose works are notoriously interpolated. In the confidence inspired by this document, "as an *historical memorandum*," we

\* As the question was originally debated with those who admitted the authenticity of the disputed passages, the parenthetical clause was wholly omitted, in offering the above difficulties for a solution.

† Remarks, *ubi supra*.

‡ Vid. Remarks, *supr.* p. 26.



are assured, "that if Eusebius had done what Mr. Nolan imputes to him, even the scribes themselves might have furnished the means of detecting the fraud."

The full value of this document, on which the decision of the controversy is thus ultimately rested, I have already estimated;\* nor is it my intention to waste any more time on the stupid forgery, than to dispose of the reply, in which an effort is made to answer my two first objections to it. For until these are set aside, I am not apprehensive, that any end will be attained by the use of this "historical memorandum;" if it does not stand, as a memorial of the polemic's experience or address, who rests the decision of a controversy on such an authority.

(1.) I formerly objected to this document, "that in the very first assertion which the author makes, ἡ γραφα καὶ ἐξέθιμιν κατὰ δύναμιν σιχηρὸν τὸδε τὸ τεύχος Παύλου τῷ ἀποστόλῳ, he is convicted of falsehood; the first person who divided the Pauline Epistles in this manner was Euthalius, from whose text the manuscript was undoubtedly copied; while this subscription represents it as copied from the autograph of St. Pamphilus."† To this it is replied, that "the scribe does not arrogate to himself the invention, nor deny the claim of Euthalius. He leaves the merit of the divisions, untouched, unquestioned, unalluded to."‡ What then does he mean by the words which I have just quoted; in which neither the terms ἡ γραφα nor κατὰ δύναμιν, nor even ἐξέθιμιν will suit any one but the inventor of the divisions? The work of *transcription*

\* Remarks on a Passage in Euseb. *supr.* p. 26.

† Remarks, *ibid.*

‡ Absurd Hypoth. exposed, p. 31.

would be properly expressed by *μετίγραψα*, *μειώθη*, or by using, with *ὑγραψα*, *ἀντιγράφω* instead of *βίβλος* or *πίχλος*: and, as every one must perceive, *the difficulty* of transcription was abridged, by the manuscript being already divided *εἰς κεφάλαια*; while in the term *ἔκδοσις*, the *previous publication* of Euthalius is absolutely excluded. The eye would be easily guided by the divisions; while in dividing, into *εἰς κεφάλαια*, a text like that of the age of Pamphilus, in which not even the words were separated, the utmost difficulty would be encountered. It is to this difficulty that Euthalius particularly alludes, in describing the labor of his predecessor; *προελάμβανον τὴν τῶν κεφαλῶν ἐκδόσιν, ἐν τῶν σφωτάτων πατέρων ἡμῶν πεποιμένην*. The scribe, of course, in appropriating this labor to himself, in announcing himself as the *publisher* of the text with such improvements, and quoting the words of *Euthalius's* Prologue to the Acts, could have no other object than to personate that writer, who had transcribed, as he pretends to do himself, a copy in the library of Cæsarea.

(2.) I likewise objected to this document, that “notwithstanding the extraordinary information which it conveys, it is unacknowledged by any *other manuscript* of Euthalius.”\* To this it is replied: that, “the *Codex Coislinianus* 202, is a fragment of *Euthalius*, and this has the colophon as it stands, *wherever* it is faithfully copied and “without correction.”† As the *Codex Coislinianus* 202 happens to be the identical manuscript which contains the subscription in dispute; and as the query, “*where* is its colophon faithfully copied,” expresses the very difficulty to be solved; it cannot be denied that the objection has at length received an *unanswerable* refutation.

\* Remarks *supr.* p. 27.

† Absurd Hypoth. exposed. p. 31.

But "before the expositor parts with this witness" of his polemical experience and address, "he requires to be informed, what critical authority has established this canon; that a *subscription* at the end of a *MS.* [the Coislinian] is to be rejected as bad evidence, and a *note*, in the margin of a *MS.* [the Marchalian] may be received as authority for the same fact."\* As I am ever disposed to be courteous to so polished an adversary, I will, on this subject, endeavor to give him the required satisfaction.

Mere *subscriptions*, he is then to be informed, are generally the work of mere scribes, who frequently know nothing more of the book which they copy, than the character in which it is written; as occurring at the end of the work, they are liable to be added by a later hand; and, as mere puffs, are entitled to no respect, when intended to enhance the value of the manuscript. Notes, or proper *scholia*, are generally the work of revisers, who are commonly acquainted with the subject of the book, on which they comment; as inserted in the body of the work, they are generally written, *a prima manu*, and form an integral part of the manuscript. The *subscription* of the Coislinian manuscript, which he quotes, assumes the most questionable form, as obviously intended to recommend the copyist's work; as professing to follow an autograph of Pamphilus, who flourished, A. D. 290, it is *contradicted* by the internal evidence of the manuscript, which possesses the inventions of Euthalius, who flourished A. D. 458: and it is *unsupported* by any other manuscript, being only found in this Coislinian fragment. The *note*, in

\* Absurd Hypoth. exposed, p. 30. Vid. *infr.* p. 124.



the Marchalian Codex which I had cited, appears in the least suspicious form, as merely intended to trace the pedigree of the manuscript, in which it occurs, to the Hexapla, through the copy of the Abbot Apollinarius; it is *confirmed* by the internal evidence of the manuscript, which possesses, in conformity with what it states, corrections from Origen's Hexapla, and notes by Eusebius; and it is *corroborated* by other Hexaplar manuscripts of the most unquestionable authority.\*

A further difference between these documents, which is accidental and adventitious, consists in the manner in which they have been respectively employed: the note having been adduced by me, in the ordinary course of discussion, the subscription, by my opponent, to decide a controverted position. This objection to the subscription, it first answered its advocate's purpose to rebut, by a denial that it had been so employed by him. But his reading having furnished an authority, when his work was brought to a close, which seemed to justify the admission even of a subscription, as evidence of a contested point; a note was accordingly drawn up, to justify its employment on such a service, and was appended, in the subjoined form, to the last page of his exposure. "The Fabricator," he observes, "with his usual arrogance, derides the use I have made of 'a subscription of *a manuscript*, as evidence. I may assume, I apprehend, that Porson was as good a judge of evidence of this kind, as the Fabricator himself, and he has employed *the same sort of Testimony*; Lett. to Trav. p. 342. 'Perhaps, sir, you may ask, why I think the pas-

\* Vid. De Rossi, uti infr. p. 125.

“sages abovementioned spurious. First, for the  
 “reason already given, [that in such passages  
 “*additions* are much more frequent than omis-  
 “sions;] secondly, because the following sub-  
 “scription is added at the end of the eighth  
 “book in *two manuscripts*, one of which *I have*  
 “seen. I have transcribed these eight books,  
 “which contain many things *added* and altered.”\*

The Fabricator is still so dull or perverse, as to maintain, that Professor Porson, in this passage, is so far from justifying the employment of the disputed subscription, that he implicitly admits the validity of the identical objections, on which it has been rejected. The Professor, in the first place, employs the subscription, which he cites, merely as subsidiary authority, having previously stated his reasons for believing the manuscript, to which it is subjoined, interpolated. In the next place, he confirms its testimony, (1) by the authority of *another manuscript*, which he is particular in specifying that he *had seen* : and (2) by the mutual confirmation which the manuscript and the subscription afforded each other, the one having many “*additions*,” the other specifying, that it “contain-  
 “ed many things *added*.” On the other hand, the Fabricator, in the first place, objected to the Coislinian subscription, in being taken as the paramount evidence on which the decision of the controversy was rested. In the next place, he wholly rejected its testimony, (1) as contradicted by the internal evidence of the manuscript to which it is subjoined, which contains the inventions of Euthalius, while the colophon describes the manuscript as a copy of Pamphilus’s autograph ; and (2) as

\* Absurd Hypoth. exposed, p. 46. n.

not having the support of “*any other manuscript of Euthalius*” in its favor. If the reader cannot now appreciate the Exposer’s attachment to truth, in asserting “that Porson has employed *the same sort of evidence*,” with himself: he will doubtless appreciate his honesty, in suppressing that part of the Professor’s testimony which I have restored in brackets. And the exposer himself, if he still “claim the colophon” of the Coislinian manuscript, and cling to its advocate Montfaucon, under whose name he takes shelter,\* may be referred, for his justification, to the umpire whom he has chosen; he will teach him how to appreciate the evidence of a scribe, who presumes to talk about *autographs*, and furnish him with a specimen of the arrogance, with which a critic seems to have thought such evidence and its retailers deserved to be derided. “But I flatter myself,” says Mr. Porson, “that I can confirm your interpretation “from Tertullian himself, who quotes the *originale instrumentum Moysi*. . . . Nor is it wonderful “that *the autograph of Moses* should last to Tertul-  
“lian’s time, when *the autograph of Esdras* has  
“lasted to the present day. For *Montfaucon* saw  
“at Bologna a *Hebrew manuscript*, which as ap-  
“peared from a memorandum in the middle of the  
“book, was written by *Esdras’s own proper hand*.”†

Before I part with the note in the Marchalian manuscript, by which I confirmed my assumption, that “Eusebius was a corrector of Scripture;” I beg to offer a few words on the substance and credibility of its testimony. I have elsewhere shewn how it is confirmed by the internal evidence of *the*

\* Absurd Hypoth. exposed, p. 31.

† Porson’s Lett. to Travis, p. 277.



*manuscript*, to which it is subjoined, and have referred to *another manuscript*, from which it receives the confirmation of external evidence.\* As on this subject I have given but a partial extract from De Rossi, to whose judgment I appealed; I shall here quote his testimony more fully, “*Modo ad Codicem [Ambrosianum] redeamus, qui hac epigraphæ explicit; ‘Descriptus est et effectus ex exemplari Eusebii et Pamphili.† Ad ejus scilicet ‘norman, quod ipsi emendarunt ex bibliotheca ‘Origenis.’ Extant etiamnum codices nonnulli ‘Græci Hexaplares, qui sub finem dicuntur ‘recti ab Eusebio et Pamphilo. Ejusmodi est ‘codex Jesuiticus, de quo multa Montfauc. in Palæogr. Græc. p. 225. In eo enim ante Ezechielem, hæc nota conspiciuntur, Πάμφιλος καὶ Εὐσέβιος ἐδιωξάντων, ‘Pamphilus et Eusebius correxerunt.’ In nostro ‘codice ii dicuntur correxisse ex bibliotheca Origenis, scilicet ex exemplari Origenis manu descripto et emendato, quod in ejus bibliotheca servabatur. Ita in comm. codice Græco, non modo ‘legitur eum correctum fuisse, ex Tetraplis Origenis, quæ ejus manu emendata et scholiis illustrata, sed ‘expresse Eusebium ipsum scholia adjecisse, ‘ut conjectari jam liceat scholia nostri codicis, ‘saltem pleraque, eundem Eusebium habere auctorem.‡’* To conclude after the expositor’s manner; “I may assume, I apprehend, that De Rossi was as

\* Inquir. into Integr. of Gr. Vulg. p. 503, 509, p. 400. n. 160

† It should be observed, that Eusebius, merely through motives of personal friendship, took the name of Pamphilus to his own, and associated it with his own, in the titles of some works which he published; conf. Hier. Ep. ad Pam. et Ocean. “Eusebius et Pamphilus tantam inter se habuere concordiam, “ut unius animæ homines putes, et ab uno alter nomen accepit.”

‡ De Rossi, Spec. ined. Hexapl. Biblior. Vers. Syro-Estrang. § vi. p. x. ed Parm. 1778.

“good a judge of evidence of this kind as himself;” and on his authority, “I repeat the assertion I formerly made,” that “Eusebius was a professed *corrector* of Scripture.”

4. It will not, I trust, now require much time to decide, whether the invincible polemic, to whom I am opposed, has not been somewhat premature, in the trophies which he has raised to his victory over the Fabricator of “the Hypothesis,”—“That Eusebius, Bishop and Historian, was an editor and corrector, and (in a few passages,) a corrupter of the Holy Scriptures.” Some curiosity, however, remains to be satisfied, as to what the victor, in a “contest so hard and so glorious” means, when he presumes to talk of its absurdity and exposure. And, after a careful perusal of his *diatribes*, I feel justified in stating, that we must be content to receive the following specimen, as the performance of his vamping professions; or believe, that, as a mere swaggerer, with all his bluster, “vires in ventum effudit.”

“According to the Fabricator,” he observes, “there was a discretionary power vested in Eusebius, to select out of the mass of canonical and apocryphal Scriptures, those chiefly which he conceived to be useful to the doctrine of the Church. [1.] Constantine says, ‘give orders to the proper persons, to write out copies of the Holy Scriptures.’ [2.] Eusebius himself says, that ‘obedience instantly followed these commands.’ [3.] The Fabricator, who knows something of the state of Eusebius’s study-table, says, ‘that he had before him a mass of canonical and apocryphal volumes, that he selected out of these what was useful and necessary to the doctrine of the Church,’ that is, that he revised



“the Canon of Scripture, or made one of his own,  
“before a single scribe could be directed to take  
“up a pen, and transcribe certain prototypes.”\*

The Fabricator, however ignorant of “the state  
“of Eusebius’s study-table,” knows atleast something of Eusebius’s “History;” he flatters himself a little more too, than the classer of his Edicts and Letters acquired, by the perusal of the heads of his chapters. Presuming so far upon an acquaintance with his author, he thinks he has ascertained, that in the times of Eusebius and Constantine, the Canon was, strictly speaking, unsettled;† that it had its ‡*disputed*, as well as its §*acknowledged* books, and that among the former were included, the Epistles of James and Jude, the second of Peter, the second and third of John, and the book of Revelations.‖ He is indebted to the same authority, for this further information,

\* Absurd Hypoth. exposed, p. 18.

† The CANON of Scripture was not settled, nor the term used, in the sense now ascribed to it, before the year 360, when the Council of Laodicea determined, in a solemn act of Council, the *Canonical Scriptures*, by enumerating them in its sixtieth *Canon*. Eusebius, in want of authority to give precision to his language, calls the genuine Scriptures, “*Catholic*,” (Eccl. Hist. III. iii. 89, 13.) and confounds the Apocryphal with the spurious, (Ibid. xxv. 118, 4.) Rufinus, with more theological precision, than chronological accuracy, renders καθολικός, in the preceding passage of his history, by *Canonicus*. Eusebius indeed uses the words ἐκκλησιαστικὸν φυλάττων κανόνα, and with reference to the Scriptures (Hist. Eccl. VI. xxv. 290, 13.) but the “*Ecclesiastical Canon*” or *Rule*, is very different from the *Canon of Scripture*,” as directly appears from the context. It means not an authorised collection of the SS. but “the rule” observed in allowing certain books as authentic, or the ordinances of the Church. So Tetullian uses “*regula*” adv. Marc. IV. v. 406. and before him it is used by St. Paul, Gal. vi. 16.

‡ ἀντιλεγόμενα.

§ βιβλία ὁμολογούμενα.

‖ Euseb. Hist. Eccl. III, xxv. 118, 28. 119, 5.



that under the title of Scriptures several apocryphal books were included, and read in some Churches; particularly the Epistle of Barnabas, the Pastor of Hermas, and the first Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians.\*

That the Fabricator is not wholly mistaken, in imputing some discrimination to Constantine, on the subject of the Canon, he appeals to the ever-memorable words, in which he addressed the Council of Nice, “the *Evangelical and Apostolical Books*,” says the Emperor, “and the oracles of the older Prophets have plainly taught us what we ought to think about God. Therefore laying aside polemical contention, *let us take the solution of our inquiries* from the inspired compositions.”† These remarkable words, addressed to the first General Council, by the Prince, whose authority had convened it, are not merely valuable, as asserting the paramount authority of the Scriptures, in solving matters of controversy. They are no less valuable, as particularizing “the *Evangelical and Apostolical Books*,” (under which terms, the Canonical Scriptures were at the time, properly distinguished from the Apocryphal,) § as having this authority in the decision of controversy. In reference to the present dispute, it is to be observed, that from these words of Constantine, Suicer takes his exemplification of λόγος in the sense of doctrine; in expounding “λόγοι θεοπνεύστοι, *verba divinitus inspirata*,” by “*doctrina evangelica Scripturis comprehensa*.”|| And in this interpretation, he is countenanced by “the Bishop and

\* Eus. *ibid.* xxv. 119, 1, 13. iii. 90, 15. xvii. 108, 3.

† θεοπνεύστων λόγων.

‡ Const. ap. Theodor. Hist. Eccl. I. vii. 26, 43.

§ Vid. Inquir. into Gr. Vulg. p. 201. || Vid. *supr.* p. 89.

"Historian," to whom we are indebted, for the preservation of the forecited passage in Constantine's oration. "These and *such like things*," declares Theodorit, "as a loving son, he proposed to the priesthood, as to fathers, *recommending* consent in *\*the Apostolical doctrines*. And the greatest part of the Council obeyed his words, and embraced concord towards each other, and *†soundness of doctrine.*"†

Having obtained this insight into the true state of the Canon, and into the opinions of the Emperor and Bishop respecting it; we are now prepared to accompany the objector, and to inquire, (1) what Constantine says; (2) what Eusebius says; and (3) what the Fabricator says, upon their authority.

(1.) Constantine, desirous of being supplied with fifty copies of the whole body of the Scriptures, at a time when the Canon remained undetermined by a solemn and public declaration of the Church, addresses himself to Eusebius in the following terms: "It seemed meet to suggest to your *consideration*, (τῇ ᾘ συνέσει, *prudence, serious deliberation*,) that you would order to be written. . . . fifty bodies of the Scriptures, of which especially you know the instauration and use to be necessary to *||the doctrine* of the Church." The objector, who has been taught, by this time, the proper force of σύνεσις and λόγος, will now possibly discover, that by the former term, there was "a discretionary power vested in Eusebius;" and that by the latter, the limits of this discretion were determined; as requiring "those Scriptures

\* Τῶν ἀποστολικῶν δογμάτων τὴν συμφωνίαν.

† τὴν τε τῶν δογμάτων ὑγίαν.

§ ὡς μάλιτα.

† Theodor. ib. p. 27.

|| τῷ λόγῳ.

“especially, the instauration and use of which he “knew to be necessary to the *doctrine* of the “Church.” If the Emperor, in requiring “the body “of the Scriptures,” was desirous of obtaining the Εὐαγγελικαὶ Βίβλοι καὶ Ἀποστολικαὶ, which he proposes to the Council of Nice, for the decision of controversy, when “recommending consent in the Apostolical “*doctrines* ;” the instructions were sufficiently explicit, for Eusebius to supply the *Canonical* Scriptures. If the Emperor’s words are taken in a less definitive sense, the Bishop was left no discretion, but must have included in “the body of the Scriptures,” which he was required to compile, the writings of Barnabas, Clement and Hermas, which the Church, as then constituted, read “for instruction in manners,” though never for “the “*establishment of doctrine* ;” for, such was the test by which the Church then determined, as it is that by which it still determines, the *Canonical* from the Apocryphal Scriptures.\*

(2.) But a difficulty arises, according to the Objector, from the *expedition* with which the Emperor’s commands were obeyed; for he continues, “Eusebius himself says, that obedience *instantly* “followed these commands.” By which, I presume, we are to understand, that fifty copies of the whole body of the Scriptures were in an instant *transcribed*, and despatched to Constantinople. Let us, however, attend to what Constantine says, “It shall be thy care,” are his words, “that

\* XXXIX ARTICLES, art. vi. comp. Euseb. uti supr. p. 128. n.\* It may be observed, by the way, that the Latin version of the Articles, which is equally authentic with the English original, and on the Latinity of which, great care was bestowed, renders the clause “for the establishment of *doctrine*,” with great propriety, “ad *dogmata* confirmanda.”



“the bodies of the Scriptures may be\* compiled *as soon as possible* :” in which words, he merely adopts the common form in which the imperial mandates were generally delivered ; “Præceptum nostrum *quantocyus* compleatur.”† If, in this form, the terms, *quantocyus*, ὡς τάχις, admitted of ambiguity, common sense would determine, that the degree of expedition must depend on the possibility of the case, not on the urgency of the order. We should be even justified in concluding, from the analogy of the case, that no more expedition was required, by this common form, than that with which the imperial mandates were usually obeyed ; and this supposition is so far confirmed by Eusebius, that in describing his expedition, he merely adopts the common terms used to express the prompt compliance with which those commands were generally executed.‡ That great expedition was used by him, he was indeed naturally disposed to impress upon his readers ; and he accordingly takes the most effectual means of gaining credit to his assertions. In informing them, “that obedience § *forthwith* followed the command,” he incidentally adds, “we having sent *the ternions and quaternions*, in volumes magnificently ornamented.” In which declaration, his allusion to “the ternions and quaternions,” or sheets of six or eight leaves, is wholly impertinent, if not intended to account for his speed, by insinuating that his work *was executed by sheets*, and

\* Ὡς τάχις κατασκευασθῆναι.

† Lactant. uti supr. p. 246. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. X. v. 402, 22.

‡ Euseb. ib. VIII. xvii. 403, 12. Vit. Const. II. xliii. 557, 27. III. xxxiii. 597, 4. IV. xxxvii. 640, 25.

§ αὐτίκα

consequently proceeded in the most expeditious manner he could have adopted.

(3.) The Fabricator now says, let the Exposer cast a glance from the titles of one or two chapters\* in Eusebius, to their contents, and thence learn, that, as the Bishop's opinion was already made up on the subject of the Canon, his work was not likely to be delayed, by the time taken to separate the acknowledged books from the disputed. Let him then follow up the hint which I have given him, that the work might have proceeded *by sheets*, and thus learn, how its progress was as little likely to be impeded, by its undergoing a revisal. Let him, therefore, if his sagacity is competent to the task, only conceive, that a sheet, when taken from an ordinary copy, might be collated with one more correct, and, if necessary, be marked with the titles and sections; that it might be then passed to the scribes in succession, to be copied by them, in their order, and the same course be pursued with every succeeding sheet, until the whole Canon was revised and copied.† As the task of reysing the vulgar text might at least keep pace with its transcription; the calcula-

\* Euseb. Hist. Eccl. III. iii. 89, xxiv. 115. xxv. 118. VI. xxvi. 239, &c.

† When the number of Scribes is considered, which Eusebius must have employed, to execute, 'as quickly as possible,' the Emperor's mandate; the inutility, not to mention the impossibility, of placing a complete copy of the Bible before each of them, affords sufficient grounds for concluding, that some course similar to that described above, must have been adopted by the Bishop. As the copies were to be beautifully executed, they must have been written in an uniform hand, and must have consequently occupied fifty scribes in the work of transcription. To insure their *uniformity* and *correctness*, it was necessary that they should be copied from *one exemplar*, and that it should have undergone a revisal.

tion may be thence easily made, how far the Fabricator's notion of the work's undergoing a revival is at variance with the historian's account of the speed, with which it was completed. For thus it may possibly be discovered, that before the scribes were set to work, it was not necessary to compile *a volume*, but would be sufficient to revise *a sheet*, which consisted of precisely twelve pages, if it was a ternion, and of sixteen, if it was a quaternion. If the objector now fails to ascertain, the reader will, without doubt, perceive *whose* absurdity it is that he has exposed, in drawing this conclusion for his opponent; "Eusebius revised *the Canon*, or made *one of his own*, before a single scribe could be directed to take up a pen to transcribe certain prototypes."

Other absurdities of the same family, begotten with equal ingenuity, and fathered upon the Fabricator of the hypothesis, receive, from their sagacious author, a correspondent exposure. Worked up to the merry mood, by the triumphs which he has, by this time, obtained over his opponent, he is now pleased to act the wag. In a lively effort, which is probably intended for wit, he accordingly strings together a number of broken and disjointed sentences, extracted from different parts of my work; and apparently much entertained with the nonsense which he creates, facetiously terms it "the Fabricator's fable." The Fabricator unhappily knows it to be his lot, that what he writes must be purely fables to those who remain in profound ignorance of the authorities from which it is derived; or peruse them with the profit of the celebrated Abbé of Yves; who had the shrewdness, however, to guess, that he was not more unfortunate than the common herd of mankind, when he candidly owned of what he read, "*j'ai cru en deviner quelque chose, et je n'ai pas entendu le*



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hypothese exposed, p. 34.

How many of those which were baptized, had escaped the infection of Arianism, and were disposed to prefer the copies in which the contested texts were retained? (3) How many of those who happened to be both orthodox and baptized, were critics sufficient to detect even the most clumsy literary fraud? (4) How many of those, who were competent to discover, and disposed to disapprove of the omission, had the power of dragging the criminal author of it to light. On the *first* of those interrogatories the Objector has already received a hint, from "Eusebius, Bishop and Historian," when describing the last moments of Constantine, the Great; and he shall soon receive an inuendo on the same subject, from another Bishop, who flourished in the same age. On the *second*, let him take the testimony of St. Jerome, speaking of the contemporaries of the orthodox Bishop of Cæsarea: "eo tempore quo *totum Orientem*, ex-  
"cepto Papa Athanasio atque Paulino, *Arianorum*  
"*et Eunomianorum hæresis possidebat.*"\* On the *third*, let him be informed by Theodorit,† "Bishop  
"and Historian," that even of Tatian's "corrup-  
"tions of the Holy Scriptures," many readers who embraced ‡ the Apostolical doctrines, were such accurate judges, that they used his copies, having § no suspicion of foul play. On the *fourth*, he may be again dismissed, for information to St. Jerome; who informs us of "Eusebius Bishop and  
"Historian," "*Ecclesiasticam pulchre Eusebius*  
"*historiam texuit, . . . impietatis Arii apertissimus*  
"*propugnator.*"\* who, even in his continuation of the orthodox "Bishop and Historian's Chronolo-  
"gy," thus speaks of his patron; "*Constantinus,*  
"*extremo vitæ suæ tempore, ab Eusebio Nicome-*

\* S. Hier. adv. Joan. Hieros. Op. Tom. III. p. 213.

† Theodor. Hær. Fab. Op. Tom. IV. p. 208.

‡ ἀποστολικαῖς δόγμασι.

§ κακῶς γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐγνώκότες.

not only explained by Eusebius,\* but in reference to the subject of the Scriptures, and even in exposition of the very texts to which St. Paul refers. As they are applied by Constantine not merely to a Bishop, but while addressing him on the same subject; the objector may now possibly discover, whether, on such an occasion, *these scriptural terms* were used in a *scriptural sense*, or with the signification which they are assigned in his wise and pertinent lucubrations, upon "*honorary titles*."

2. That "Eusebius, Bishop and Historian, was "an editor of the Holy Scriptures," even in the arbitrary and unjustifiable sense, which the objector imposes on the word *edition*, there is not ground for a moment's controversy; however he may have discovered the position to be not merely erroneous but absurd. In explanation of that term, he informs us, that "a copy of the Scriptures with a list of Scripture texts, was an edition; or with a comparison of other texts, was "an edition." It unfortunately happens to be the case, that *both* of these requisites are found in the *Canons*, prefixed by Eusebius to the New Testament, which is the only subject of our present dispute, as it was that of my original inquiry. They consist of "a list of *all* the Scripture texts" of the Evangelists, disposed in ten Harmonical Tables; and they are arranged in such a manner, as to exhibit the texts of one Gospel "in comparison with the texts" of the other Gospels, which coincide with them in subject. As the texts of Scripture are expressed in these tables merely by numerical references, agreeing with correspondent references in the margin of the Gospels; they

\* Euseb. Com. in Es. xxix. 15. Nov. Collect. Patr. Tom. II. p. 472. 6. Id. Præp. Evangel. XI. v. 513. b—d.



## POSTSCRIPT.

THE importance of the Epistle of Constantine, and "the Edict of Milan," on which I have so long detained the reader's attention, must plead my apology, for the extent to which my observations on those interesting documents have been protracted. That the controvertist with whom it is my lot to be implicated, may appreciate the obligation under which he is individually laid, by my courtesy, in having condescended to debate the question with him on his own grounds, and entered so minutely into the merits of his objections, I have to solicit, for a few moments longer, his particular attention. The following pages are dedicated to the specific object of shewing him, with how much ease, the controversy which he has moved might have been decided, and the absurdity of its mover exposed.

1. He is to be informed, that the words *σύνεσις* and *λόγος*, which form the main objects of his attack, are purely *Scripture terms*; the *אמרי בינה* of the Old Testament, rendered by the revisers of the Greek version *ΣΥΝΕΣΕΩΣ ΛΟΓΟΙ*.\* As familiarly joined in the Sacred Text, they are connected, by St. Paul, in the sense of "intelligence" and "doctrine," 1 Cor. i. 18, 19. ὁ ΛΟΓΟΣ γὰρ τῷ σαυροῦ τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις μωρία ἐστίν. . . . ΓΕΡΑΙΠΤΑΙ γὰρ . . . τὴν ΣΥΝΕΣΙΝ τῶν *ἁντιῶν ἀντιθέσω*. And in the same sense, they are

\* Vid. Montfauc. Hexapl. Orig. in Prov. i. 2. et ibi not. Procop.

us may find it done to their hands, in Jerome and Chrysostome.\* I have elsewhere observed, that of the five passages of Scripture which are in dispute, *two* are omitted in Eusebius's Canons; and on this subject the inquirer may be likewise referred for the gratification of his curiosity, to the last-cited Fathers.†

From these authorities, the Exposer of "the Absurd Hypothesis, that Eusebius was an editor and corrupter of the Scriptures," may learn with what sentiments the exposed regarded the language in which the objections to it were stated: even before the shallowness of the objector's reading and weakness of his proofs had evinced his utter incompetence to form an opinion on the subject. He may thence collect, with what effect upon the risible faculties of his opponent, the very first sentence in which he opened his "examination" was attended. "The *crime* which has been imputed to Eusebius of Cæsarea, is a mere creation of fancy;—with what derision the last paragraph was perused, in which he closed his "exposure;"—"If Eusebius had made erasures in the mss. ordered to be copied, the probability is very great the *fraud* would have been detected in his own age." That the vindicator of "the Bishop and Historian" may fully appreciate the value of his defence, he has yet to enjoy the consolation of hearing, that if he had not failed in it, by the most deplorable incompetence, his client must have come forth acquitted of the "crime," by having the charge substantiated against him of being κατ' ἐξοχήν, a traitor. "Tradition

\* S. Hier. Præf. in Pentateuch. Tom. III. p. 341. S. Chrysost. Tom. XI. p. 606. b.

† St. Hier. ib. p. 416. S. Chrysost. Tom. II. p. 389.



“*tores*; *תוֹרֵי הַסֵּתֵר* sic dicuntur qui *secreta fidei propria detegunt* et reserant. Vocari potest talis “גַּלִּי רוֹאֵה, REVELATOR ARCANORUM, Sanhed. p. 203, quo sensu מוֹסֵר appellatur novus ex Jūdæo “Christianorum proselytus.”\*

The controversy being thus set upon the only ground on which it merits, even for a moment, the consideration of a scholar; it is now worth the experiment to try, whether ample justice may not be done, in as short a space, to the pretences of the controvertist who has presumed to contest it; even while he is allowed every advantage, arising from his having the choice of his ground in contesting it. I formerly had occasion to observe to him, that his moral and intellectual qualifications in polemics were pretty nearly on a level. It now remains to be seen, with what facility this charge may be substantiated, from a review of *each of the topics* which he has selected for the display of his controversial powers.

1. A fundamental position, involving some important consequences, and labored by him with no ordinary pains, is laid down by him, in the following terms: “The Emperor (Constantine) according to established usage, in his private communication, by *letter*, used the *Greek* language; but in forming and promulgating *Edicts*, he used “the *Latin*, the language appropriated to the “*Laws*.” To establish this point, an induction is made by him, of the Edicts and Letters preserved by Eusebius, which at least claims for its author the merit of having carefully read through Eusebius’s History. Unfortunately, to the very first examples which he has selected of imperial *letters* written in *Greek*, the Historian has prefixed a

\* Hotting. Thes. Philol. Lib. I. cap. i. p. 16.



positive declaration, which may be found, Book X. ch. ii. p. 463, l. 26, that they were "*translated*" "from the *Latin*." And thus ends this learned induction in proving, that its diligent author had acquired so much knowledge of Eusebius's work, as was attainable by perusing the titles prefixed to his chapters. Even among these titles, one may be found, Book X. ch. v. p. 480, l. 39, in which his fundamental position receives an implicit contradiction; though it required but an ordinary share of information to understand it, even of this slender qualification this learned polemic proves to be destitute.

So much for the intellectual qualifications employed in the discussion of this point; that the moral do not fall much behind, will appear from the following observations. Among the first examples of Imperial Edicts and Letters, preserved in Eusebius's *History*, occurs an *Edict* of the Emperor Maximin, published in *Greek*,\* and a *Letter* of the same Emperor addressed to the Prefect Sabinus in *Latin*.† By these documents the *falsity* of both positions in the objector's conclusion, relative to "the established usage," observed by the Emperors in framing and publishing their imperial constitutions, was demonstrated: both of those documents are accordingly excluded from his induction, whether through honesty or inadvertence is submitted to the decision of the reader. At the very head of the documents of the same kind, preserved in Eusebius's *Biography*, one occurs, which expressly unites in itself the characters of a *Law*‡ and a *Letter*,§ and happens to have been

\* Hist. Eccl. IX. p. 445. vid. Rem. supr. p. 9.

† Ibid. p. 452. Rem. ibid.

‡ Euseb. Vit. Const. II. p. 548. l. 2. 6.

§ Ibid. p. 557. l. 27.

published in *Greek* and *Latin*. This was unfortunate: as in furnishing an example of a *Law* published in *Greek*, and a *Letter* written in *Latin*, it leveled a fatal stroke at our polemic's fundamental position; "that the *Letters* were written in *Greek*, the *Laws* promulgated in *Latin*." But a little shuffling soon set every thing right. After having the title prefixed to it by Eusebius, an "Imperial *Law* to the Provincials of Palestine," changed into "Constantine's *profession* that he "ascribed his victories to God;" it is shifted in the Exposer's induction, from the first place to the fourth; and to baffle the detection of this deliberate fraud, another is committed, in directing the reader to its place in Eusebius's work, by a false reference; "p. 348" being put for p. 548.

2. In opposing my rendering of *δηλῶσαι τῇ ΣΗΐ συνίσει*, the first of the two phrases in Eusebius which are in dispute; the following objection was urged, as giving the controversy its quietus: "In the close of the same letter, [a letter from Constantine to the *Bishops* of Antioch] we have the words which Mr. N. translates 'submit to YOUR consideration' . . . . *δηλῶσαι τῇ συνίσει ὙΜΩΝ* . . . . and in another passage, 'YOUR Synesis will be able' . . . . *δυνήσεται ὙΜΩΝ ἡ σύνεσις*."\* Small as the degree of information is, which is competent to discover, that ΣΗΐ in the passage quoted by Mr. N. is a *possessive* pronoun, with the signification of "YOUR," and ὙΜΩΝ, in the passages quoted by Dr. F. is a *personal* pronoun, with the signification "of you:" even of so slender a qualification, as was necessary to perceive this distinction, which proves the futility of the objection, this learned critic proved himself to be unpossessed.

\* Case of Eusebius examined, p. 6.



In reply to this objection, I had observed, that "the phrase *δηλῶσαι τῇ συνίσει ὑμῶν*, (i. e. signify to the intelligence of you) would be as inadmissible in English as it is in Greek, and could be only taken in the sense which the objector ascribed to it, (signify to *Your* Intelligences,) by violating "the commonest principles of grammar." Here again, by the assistance of a little shuffling, every thing was set right. To fit the Greek extract *δηλῶσαι τῇ συνίσει ὑμῶν*, cited by the objector, to his English translation, ("signify to *Your Intelligences*,"\*) *ΣΗ*, answering to *YOUR*, is dishonestly nuzzled in; and in violation of Eusebius's text, as well as of my quotation of it, the above objection is cited, with the following improvement; "the phrase "*δηλῶσαι τῇ ΣΗ συνίσει ὑμῶν*, would be as inadmissible "in English as it is in Greek,"\* &c.

3. In refutation of my translation of the second phrase in Eusebius, which is in dispute, *τὴν τ' ἐπισκευὴν καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λόγῳ ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι γινώσκουσιν*; the objector proposed the amended version, "you "know the preparation and use to be necessary, "in consideration of, having regard to the nature "and constitution of the Church."† Small as the share of information is which would qualify its possessor to know, that, by the rules of every grammar, adjectives, like *ἀναγκαίαν*, attended with a noun in the dative, necessarily govern it in that case; yet, even of this slender qualification, to fit him for a controvertist, this critic proved himself unpossessed.

In objecting to the foregoing amended translation, I had observed, that "the manner in which "its author wrests *τῷ λόγῳ* from its dependence on

\* Absurd Hypoth. exposed, p. 15.

† Case of Euseb. examined. p. 6.



“ἀσχηματιστάς would disgrace a school-boy, who  
 “had exercised his talent for two years in the  
 “acquirement of Greek.” With an attachment to  
 truth, equal to the regard for honesty which has  
 been so recently displayed, he informs us in reply,  
 that “he *neither separated* nor joined them, nor  
 “considered their grammatical relation to one  
 “another at all, for of this *he* had no doubt.”\* I  
 will not say let any school-boy, but let any  
 boarding-school girl be interrogated, whether  
 “nature and constitution,” in the foregoing trans-  
 lation, depend on the adjective “necessary,” or  
 on the prepositions “of” or “to,” and the an-  
 swer will, I have no doubt, fully prove, that the  
 information and veracity displayed by the author  
 of this reply to my objection are alike creditable  
 to his talents and principles.

4. I have already done justice incidentally to  
 the learning displayed by the expositor in his next  
 objection to my hypothesis, so far as it asserted,  
 that “Eusebius was an *editor* of the Scriptures.”  
 This position we have seen denounced by him, as  
 not merely erroneous but “absurd;” and for this  
 learned and valid reason, that the author of the  
 Eusebian Canons had *not* prefixed to his copy  
 “a list of Scripture texts,” nor exhibited them  
 “with a comparison of other texts of Scripture.”  
 I once more advert to the subject, to give the ob-  
 jector the benefit of another remark. He is still  
 therefore to be told, that however his learned dis-  
 cussion, upon “the nature and constitution” of  
 an *edition*, has failed in its intentions; it has suc-  
 ceeded, to a miracle, in establishing this credita-  
 ble fact, that on a ms. copy of the Greek or Latin  
 Vulgate he never can have laid his eyes. For

\* Absurd Hypoth. exposed, p. 15.

had either been viewed but with moderate attention, it must have been discovered, that in *Eusebius's Canons*, which are prefixed to the Gospels, no less than two of the requisites, which he deems necessary to constitute an edition, are actually found.

As supplementary to my assumption, respecting the edition of Eusebius, I had likewise asserted its *dispersion*; and in the first place in which I made the assertion, had confirmed it by a reference to a passage in Constantine's "Life." In exposing the absurdity of my hypothesis, the author faithfully copies the first part of my assertion; but with his usual honesty, takes care that the part of it which discloses, that "the Emperor had been "at considerable pains, and expence to multiply "copies of the Scriptures," shall be quietly thrust out of sight. The authority thus produced in favor of my assertion, is however picked up by him in his next paragraph, for the purpose of informing us, from it, that "Constantine, out of "the royal treasure *furnished* a great many "copies." In making this disclosure, it must be however acknowledged, that he sustains his character for consistency; for the fact, explicitly stated by the Emperor's biographer, that he not only "multiplied," but "*passed a law to multiply "the Scriptures,*" is again dishonestly suppressed.

From the preceding specimens of his qualifications to engage in honorable warfare, this polemic may learn, how fully any adversary would be justified, in bringing the contest, into which he entered, to a summary close. To entitle me to treat with silent contempt any challenge, which may be hereafter offered, by a champion so rarely gifted, I shall dwell a little longer on a subject,

from which it may be conceived I am ambitious to be relieved, as it is calculated only to awaken the painful feelings of indignation and disgust. Were I to enter into a perfect exposure of the miserable quibbling which he exhibits in every line, of the wretched shuffling with which he labors in every paragraph to evade or pervert the truth, I should be sentenced to the hard labor of composing a volume, which, when it was written, few would be found sufficiently patient to read. I shall therefore content myself with raising a small trophy to his merits, as a scholar; and to avoid the imputation of partiality, in selecting the subject of my panegyric, take a leading topic of the present controversy, and one that he has himself chosen, in order to render me a like service to that, which it is now my ambition to return.

With a view to level in the dust the literary consequence of "the Fabricator of the Absurd Hypothesis:"—violent hands are laid by him, upon "*an Imperial Constitution*," which I had cited, as "published by the same authority," as the Letter addressed by Constantine to Eusebius, on the subject of the Scriptures. All the circumstances which could evince ignorance in the sciolist, who had unwittingly blundered upon so extraordinary a document, without being aware of its history and importance, he holds up to the light; bringing it triumphantly forth, in all its honors, as "*the celebrated EDICT of Toleration, promulgated at Milan*."\*

A tract, as large as that which it has been my hard fate to be compelled to write, would, without exaggeration, be necessary to do ample justice to the incompetency of which this subject, but inci-

\* Absurd Hypoth. exposed, p. 6.



dentally introduced into the controversy, has occasioned the display. I have elsewhere done justice to the learning which the Exposer exhibits on the subject of "the authority" by which this Constitution was published, and to the learned discrimination which he has evinced, in referring it to its proper class among edicts or letters.\* Nor have I time to mention more than incidentally the controversial experience which he displays, in his confident assertion, that the author of the tract "De Mortibus Persecutorum," in which it is preserved, "may or *may not* be Lactantius;"† and with which, after the question has been laid at rest, in the controversy between the Benedictine le Nourry, and De Lestocq of the Sorbonne, he bids us, for the satisfaction of our doubts, "see Sir J. Dalrymple's learned and acute investigation of "this question."‡ On one learned paragraph, which an expression in this Constitution has elicited from him, due attention has already been bestowed; and I trust, it has been shewn,§ that *every position* in it is an error. My present limits merely admit of my attention being directed to the *title*, in which he has emblazoned its honors; of which I have now to observe, that, with the exception merely of the expletives, it contains an error only in *every word*. For (1) this Constitution has not been "celebrated." (2) it was no "Edict," (3) it was no Edict "of toleration;" and (4) it was not "promulgated at Milan;"

1. Where we may discover the place, in which this Constitution has been "celebrated," is a subject, respecting which some curiosity may be reasonably expressed. Lactantius and Eusebius

\* Addit. Rem. supr. p. 45 seq.      † Absurd Hypoth. p. 6.  
 ‡ Ibid.      § Addit. Rem. supr. p. 70.

by whom it is preserved, were so grossly insensible to its *celebrity*, that in introducing it to our notice, they bestow upon it not a syllable of praise. The most favorable opportunity presented itself to Socrates, who commences his history from the time of Diocletian and Maximian's abdication,\* in the year 303, to insert in his narrative this "celebrated" document, which was promulgated in the year 313; but sadly blind to its merits, he deigns not to bestow upon it a word. What is yet more extraordinary, Rufinus, the translator and continuer of Eusebius's History, while it presented itself in his original, has wholly discarded it from his version, nor deemed it worthy of a remark; though he has condescended to translate into Latin, from the version of Eusebius in Greek, the Edict of Galerius, which is also preserved by Lactantius. The fact is, that the secret influence of Licinius, who was a concealed but deadly enemy to Christianity,† reduced this Constitution, which was promulgated in *his dominions*, to a dead letter: and thus it happened, that the glories of this "celebrated Edict" were wholly eclipsed by the splendor of the Constitution addressed by Constantine to the Provincials of Palestine, which was the first measure in favor of Christianity, of which the Eastern provinces felt the solid effects.‡

(2) I have elsewhere fully shewn, and confirmed the assertion by the highest authority, that this document was no 'Edict,' but an Imperial *Letter*. I shall now merely quote, upon this subject, the testimony of Lactantius, by whom it has been preserved. In introducing it to our notice, he

\* Socrat. Hist. Eccl. I. ii. 6. 5. † Id. ibid. I. iii. 8, 13.

‡ Euseb. Vit. Const. II. xx. 546, 4.

prefaces it with the following words: "Licinius  
 "...Constantino atque ipso ter Consulibus, de  
 "restituenda Ecclesia hujusmodi *litteras* ad Præsi-  
 "dem datas, proponi jussit."\* And he dismisses  
 it with the following remark; "his *litteris* propo-  
 "sitis, etiam verbo hortatus est, ut conventicula  
 "in statum pristinum redderentur."† And though  
 this document is generally designated by the mo-  
 derns as an edict, the author before us is not enti-  
 tled to the benefit of their authority, as it is no  
 where so termed by them, when the question was  
 moved which he agitates, whether it was to be  
 classed as an edict or letter.

(3) That this document was no 'Edict of tolera-  
 'tion,' but a Constitution for the *plenary restitution*  
 of the Church, may be collected from the forecited  
 words of Lactantius, who characterises it fully and  
 distinctly, as "de *restituenda Ecclesia litteræ*,"‡  
 specifying the main object of its promulgation,  
 "ut conventicula in *pristinum statum* redderen-  
 "tur."§ And this statement the language in  
 which it is constructed fully confirms: "Atque  
 "hoc insuper in personam Christianorum statuen-  
 "dum esse censuimus, quod si eadem loca, ad  
 "quæ antea convenire consueverant, . . . . priore  
 "tempore, aliqui vel a fisco nostro, vel ab alio  
 "quocumque, videntur esse mercati, *eadem Chris-*  
 "*tianis, sine pecunia, et sine ulla pretii petitione,*  
 "postposita omni frustratione atque ambiguitate,  
 "*restituantur*,"|| &c.

(4) Where it has been learned, that this Consti-  
 tution was "promulgated at Milan," is a point on  
 which some curiosity may be reasonably express-  
 ed. Eusebius offers not a word upon the sub-

\* Lactant. uti supr. p. 544.

† Id. ibid.

§ Id. ibid.

‡ Id. ibid. p. 246.

|| Id. ibid. p. 245.



ject, and Lactantius delivers himself upon it, in the following terms; "Licinius . . . *Nicomediam* "ingressus, . . . die Iduum Juniarum . . . hujus-  
 "modi litteras ad Præsidem datas *proponi jussit*."\*  
 And Dodwell and Du Pin, no mean authorities, having occasion to mention it, accordingly represent it as promulgated *at Nicomedia*, not Milan. The former expresses himself, in reference to it, as follows: "Victus a Licinio Maximinus, in Campo  
 "sereno die 30. Aprilis: edictum Constantini et  
 "Licinii *pro pace Nicomediæ propositum Jun. xiii.*"†  
 And the latter, in determining the duration of the Diocletian persecution, which the promulgation of this constitution was intended to stay, fully acquiesces in the justice of this observation: fixing the period of its cessation, after Lactantius, to the 13th of June;‡ the day of its promulgation *at Nicomedia*. When it is known that in that part of the empire of which Milan was the capital, the persecution had long abated, while it raged in those provinces of which Nicomedia was the seat of government; this statement will be acknowledged to be not merely probable but true. "And  
 "so," to perpetrate the fame of this "celebrated" document in the phraseology of my opponent, "end the history and adventures" of "the celebrated Edict, the Edict of Toleration, promulgated at Milan."

When I contemplate these and similar achievements of the same skilful hand, will the surprise and indignation appear unaccountable, with which I pause to ask, in Zanga's words,

"Is this the hand that smote me?"

\* Lact. *ibid.* p. 244. † Dodw. *Chron. Persec.* ad an. 313.

‡ Du Pin, *int. Mon. Vet. ad schism. Donat. pert.* p. 144.

Can this be the person, who pretends to "examine" my hypothesis; who presumes to upbraid "the fabricator of it," with "bad argument" and imperfect information?" In the silly exhibition which he must now make in his own eyes, I forbear to ask himself, can this be the man who has the confidence to arraign my "hypothesis" as "absurd;" who has the front to talk of its "explosion?"

In taking a final leave of such an opponent, I make no apology for the strain in which I have conducted my defence. If it be thought that I have employed in it unnecessary asperity; let this splendid and powerful sentence be my vindication: "*Hoc et ratio doctis, et necessitas barbaris, et mos gentibus, et feris natura ipsa præscripsit, ut omnem semper vim, quacunque opes possent, a corpore, a capite, a vita ipsa propulsarent.*" The original cause of the provocation, which has reduced me to this necessity, I am not solicitous to investigate; nor am I desirous to inquire into the motives, which, after a lapse of five years, have occasioned its being renewed. I am indeed assured, by those who have come within the sphere of my opponent's intercourse, that it may be easily discovered in his temper and manners: to which I am further told, the disappointment of hopes, of which no man but himself can discover the foundation, has given a sourness and distortion, not congenial even to *his* "nature and constitution." In the distribution of professional honors and emoluments, the hard-earned pittance which has fallen to my lot has surely been neither so suddenly bestowed, nor exorbitant in its value, as to move any man's envy or discontent. He has indeed informed me, that "on my

"merits, such as they are, he abstains from im-posing a name." In returning the compliment, he must be told, that when his deserts shall find an adequate recompense and name, I am withheld by no scruples from stating what will be the award, though I choose to express myself in the words of the poet,

Pera, polenta, tribon, baculus, scyphus, arcata supellex,  
Ista fuit *Cynici*.

### *Supplementary Remark*

#### *on the Exposer's concluding Note.*

I HAVE already done justice (supr. p. 123.) to the ingenuity and honesty displayed by the objector, in representing Mr. Porson, (when referring to a subscription found in *two mss.* one of which he is particular in stating that he "had seen,") as employing "the *same sort* of evidence" with himself, when referring to a subscription, which had been particularly objected to, as found only in *one ms.*

On this subject, one or two remarks yet remain to be made. In reference to a clause, in this perfectly unique subscription, which I had traced to one of *Euthalius's Prefaces*, we are now gravely informed, that "it is a precatory *formula* of which there "is a *great variety* in the ancient *ms.*" these further particulars being added,—that "in the *example* cited [by our author] "from *Fell's Preface* to the New Testament, the adjuration "was to be faithfully preserved, by all subsequent transcribers." Absurd Hypoth. exposed, p. 32. Among the *mss.* exhibiting this "great variety," as some dozens have without doubt fallen in the way of so experienced a critic, he is now challenged to state where *one* may be found.

On the subject of "the *example* cited from *Fell's Preface*," some curious particulars remain to be disclosed. Our learned critic is therefore to be informed, that "the adjuration "there faithfully preserved, has been transferred" into the Bishop's Preface, *not* indeed from an *ancient ms.* but from a certain rare, though *printed work*, entitled "*the History of Eusebius*, Bishop of Cæsarea," and may be found, by the curious inquirer, in Book V. ch. xx. p. 238. l. 6. having been there most "faithfully" copied from a minor tract of St. Irenæus!



### ENVIRONMENTAL DEMAND

[illegible]

**TWO LETTERS**

**ON THE**

***TEXT OF THE HEAVENLY WITNESSES.***





LETTER I.  
ON THE  
TEXT OF THE HEAVENLY WITNESSES.

—o—

*To the Editor of the Christian Remembrancer.*

SIR,

WHEN I undertook the defence of the Received Text, of which the Heavenly Witnesses form so remarkable a part, it was my endeavor to separate from the confused mass of evidence by which I found it condemned, the genuine testimony by which it was properly supported. It was my object to prove, by a labored induction, that as the Greek and Latin Churches were the first depositories, they were the natural guardians of the sacred trust, and that their testimony to its integrity was irresistibly conclusive.

As subsidiary to this paramount object, I endeavored to shew, that to whatever account the testimony of other Churches might be turned, in the classification of manuscripts, their evidence on any contested doctrinal point, was wholly undeserving of credit: and that the principle which gave weight to that testimony, as far as it rested on the assumption, that the witnesses were ancient and separate, supplied every person who was but moderately versed in the history of the Sacred Text, with meet subject of derision.\*

\* To this observation a refutation was given, in a vaporising challenge of the controvertist to whose pretences this letter is in

It is, I hope, at present unnecessary to enter particularly into a subject, which is elsewhere handled in detail, and which is now mentioned principally with a view to stating, that from the comparative testimony of the two Churches, who were the accredited vouchers for the inspired Word, the defence of the Heavenly Witnesses had arisen. I should need a little of that fondness for repetition, with which your patience has been latterly tried, to enable me to recapitulate, gravely and methodically, all the particulars, arising from their comparative testimony, which led to the confirmation of the disputed passage. I shall again venture to believe it only necessary to state, that

tended to do justice, in which he proclaimed, that he was "prepared to evince, that the versions must have been made from mss. of different classes, and called upon me to dispute the ground with him." On this method of refutation it may be well conceived, it was deemed unnecessary to waste a remark; particularly as it must appear, from the slightest smattering in the subject, that the point on which this swaggerer was thus disposed to display his valor, was yielded in the concession, That "the versions might be turned to account in the classification of manuscripts." On this principle, as indisputable, I had in fact proceeded, in my Inquiry into the Integrity of the Gr. Vulgate, to distribute the Greek mss. into "different classes." As the expediency of the controversy which was thus valorously provoked, must be consequently obvious to the least informed reader; the oriental scholar may judge of the promise of learning which it held out, from the observations with which we were gratified on the Ethiopic and Syriac versions. In a discussion upon the use of the article, at the close of 1 John v. 8. the objector refers to Griesbach, for authority on its omission in the Ethiopic; observing that "he had not the version by him, to inspect it himself:" Chr. Rem. for March, p. 138. The English reader, will doubtless hear with some surprise, that the Ethiopic has no articles. On this subject, I shall merely quote a writer on the accidence of that language; G. Othon. Instit. Æthiop. § 20. "Æthiopes neque articulum, cum Hebreis et Arabibus, neque statum emphaticum habent." The case of the Syriac, I reserve for a more convenient opportunity.



having attained, in support of the contested verse, the direct testimony of one of the vouchers, contained in the *Latin*; and having found, that the entire weight of the internal evidence confirmed its testimony, while it neutralized the evidence of the other witness, contained in the *Greek*; all that could be deemed necessary to the perfect defence of the contested verse, might be comprised in two particulars. If, in fact, the positive testimony of the Latin Version could be sufficiently confirmed by the concurring testimony of the Latin Fathers; and if the negative testimony of the Greek Text could be satisfactorily accounted for, and an adequate cause assigned for the silence of the Greek Fathers: no plea could be advanced of sufficient weight to warrant a proscription of the Heavenly Witnesses, or justify their exclusion from the Canonical Scriptures.

A late correspondent in your Journal,\* however he may agree with me in principle, stands at issue with me in the conclusion. I willingly consider his observations in this light, as it is my wish to diminish the differences which appear to lie between us; and I console myself with the belief, that they are really less than may be at first imagined. When his pains are employed, as I must observe, they commonly are, in contending for that, which no person is now disposed to contest, I am necessarily prepared to grant the utmost which he can require. If his purpose be that alone which I can conceive,—the desire of making a display of his reading: I am forward to admit that learning loses nothing of its intrinsic weight,

\* Vid. A Letter of the Rev. John Oxlee to the Editor of the *Christian Remembrancer*. Feb. 1822. p. 71.



from the consideration of the source from whence it is derived; and I know that I may sadly err in supposing, that by its last transfusion it has become diluted and vapid, and brings little credit where it is stolen or borrowed. But however we may differ on these points, or stand at issue on the main conclusion, I am atleast resolved, that he shall have no reasonable ground of objection to the mode in which all that is in dispute shall be finally settled. If, in fact, the argument which he has revived may be subverted, and its upholder put down, by the testimony of the witnesses, to whom he appeals in its support, he can surely take no just exception to the method of reply by which he is answered.

The cardinal points on which the controversy turns, are, as I conceive, the testimony borne by the Greek and Latin Church, on the subject of the disputed passage; the one giving a direct evidence in its favor, the other apparently negating it, by its silence. In the choice of difficulties which the controversy presents; for when the evidence of the Latins is disposed of, that of the Greeks internally possesses enough to exercise the skill of the objector; his force is directed against the positive argument deduced from the Latin Version, in subversion of which two witnesses are accordingly summoned to his assistance. By the aid of *Facundus*, the testimony of the Latin Fathers, comprising that of the African Church, is soon annihilated. And they being fairly placed out of the dispute, the assistance of *Vigilius*, backed by Fulgentius, is easily converted to the purpose of proving the corruption of the Latin Version.

As much of this hypothesis as rests on the testimony of *Facundus* is delivered by its contriver in

the following terms ;\* ‘ To me the extraordinary explication of the eighth verse by Facundus is a *full and adequate proof*, that in the middle of the sixth century, the passage of the heavenly witnesses was *as much unknown to the African Church* as it was to the rest of Christendom.’ The early testimony of this Church being thus reduced to a negative ; the following observations are offered, to dispose of its positive testimony :† ‘ I shall now proceed to state in what way the verse at first got thrust into the Latin manuscripts. This I hesitate not to charge, originally, on the undersigning mistake of the two African Prelates, *Vigilius Tapsensis*, and *Fulgentius Ruspensis*. In the days of those prelates, the African Church had suffered from the Arian faction the most violent persecutions ; and *Vigilius particularly*, being anxious to vindicate the cause of orthodoxy, and conscientiously believing that in the copy of St. Cyprian the words “ *Tres unum sunt* ” were absolutely affirmed of the Godhead, ventured to allege the verse in due form ; and so in the *Confession of Faith*, which he drew up in the name of the African Bishops, as well as in the several tracts which he put forth under the names of *Athanasius*, *Augustinus* and *Idacius*, he scrupled not to insert it as the testimony of St. John. Fulgentius striking in with the same notion, cited it in like manner, and from these two writers it was henceforth communicated to others of the Latin Church, till atlength it was received as a genuine part of the Epistle.’

With respect to the evidence of Facundus, to

\* Oxlee’s Letter I. p. 71.

† Oxlee’s Letter II. p. 135, for March 1822. p. 135.



which the first place is assigned, in this hypothesis it is rather inauspicious, that on the first glance, it should exhibit a deviation from what the objector himself conceives the test and standard of truth. In the testimony of this Father, from which he derives such important results, the context of the disputed verse is quoted with an unlucky interpolation, which fully reveals the extent of Facundus's knowledge, respecting the original. In every printed or manuscript copy of this Father's works, the earthly Witnesses, are thus cited, "tres sunt qui testificantur IN TERRA, "spiritus, aqua et sanguis, et hi tres unum sunt;" and this interpolation of IN TERRA, which is acknowledged by no manuscript of the New Testament in Greek or Latin, that does not retain the *Heavenly Witnesses*, is six times repeated in Facundus's context.\*

The value of the testimony of a witness who states more than the truth, even the vulgar reader is able to appreciate. It is only from such keen observers as the objector that we can hope to learn its entire importance; and, to give him his due, by his acute observation on the *omission* of the identical terms, "in earth," by Gutbier, we are taught the full value of this various reading in Facundus. If the force of the objector's remark† is

\* Porson Letter XII. to Archdeacon Travis, p. 386. "In Facundus, it is true, the editions six times repeat *in terra*."

† Oxlee's Letter I. p. 69. uti supr. p. 161. "That the disputed text, was originally no part of the *Syriac* is known to all. "Gutbier indeed, in his *very laborious* and useful edition has inserted it; but since the antithesis of '*in earth*' is *not* likewise inserted in the eighth, the deformity of the patchwork is most glaring." Respecting the accuracy of the fact on which this observation is founded, it is necessary, however, to observe, that in an edition of Gutbier, Hamb. 1664. which I



at all admitted, it is thence only to be inferred, that, in the text from which Facundus quoted, the complete antithesis, which turns upon the terms "in heaven" and "in earth," was preserved; and consequently, that the copy from which he quoted, differed in nothing from that used by his African brethren, but *retained the Heavenly Witnesses*. Of the advocate who bears this unwilling testimony to the existence of the disputed passage, by a partial quotation, a further use may be made. The zeal which he manifests, in laboring to weaken its force, and subvert its authority, furnishes abundant proof of the hostile light in which the text was really regarded, by the polemics of the same period; by whom it is notwithstanding expected, that it shall be *produced*, on every controversial emergency.

The true influence of the first-cited witness on the point at issue, is therefore, I believe, simply as follows. His testimony is either so far corrupted as to be entitled to no respect; or if it is unso-

*have* inspected, the term,  $\text{בָּאָרֶץ}$ , 'in earth,' is 'inserted' in its proper place; and from the "Variæ Lectiones ex omnibus editionibus multis sudore collectæ a Carolo Schaaf," it would appear, that in *no* edition published by Gutbier was this term omitted. That critic, who has noted the omissions of antecedent editors, observes on this subject, Var. Lect. p. 735. "*Versum septimum* Vien. Reg. Plant. in 8<sup>o</sup> et 12<sup>o</sup>, Paris. min. Trost. "Paris. maj. Angl. Editiones non habent.... *Gutbierius* et ego ex Tremellii notis eundem descripsimus, et *textui inseruimus*. Attamen Gutb. habet  $\text{בְּאֶרֶץ}$  absque præfixo; et Gutb. ac ego pro  $\text{וְהַלְלָהּ}$  habemus  $\text{וְהַלְלָהּ}$ ." This observation, it will be admitted, is sufficiently minute; but nothing is said of the omission of 'in earth,' which we are now told "renders the deformity of the patchwork *so glaring*." Wherein the elaborateness of Gutbier's edition consists would perplex us to discover; were it not palpable, that the objector, exemplifying the negligence which he condemns, convicts it of the "most glaring deformity," merely upon conjecture.

phisticated, (as the whole tenor and object of the controversy in which it is offered irrefragably prove,\*) it entitles its author to his proper place, among those Fathers of the African Church who *have referred to the contested passage*. While it thus *subverts* the object for which it is adduced, by the *objector* to the Text of the Heavenly Witnesses; in proving his witness *well acquainted* with the disputed text, of which it is presumed *he was ignorant*: it somewhat curiously *confirms* the positive and negative argument, which *its advocate* advances in its favor. It corroborates the positive testimony of the Latin Church, by an *accidental quotation* of part of the disputed text; and accounts for the negative testimony of the Greek Church, by an *intentional suppression* of the remainder.

Before we proceed to the consideration of Vigilus's testimony, an observation bestowed, by way of episode, on that of Eucherius, may not be wholly misapplied; as the want of the disputed verse in his copy is, in the objector's opinion, sufficient to lay the question of its authenticity at rest. As we are not favored with the mode of induction by which he infers, from the absence of the verse in Eucherius's works, that it was omitted in Eucherius's Bible, we are precluded the opportunity of passing upon it any remark; though it may be hinted to him by the way, that if he does not learn from the case of Facundus, he may be soon taught by that of Vigilus, that the disputed verse might have retained its situation in the one place, while

\* This point has been established, principally from M. Assemani's account of the Nestorian and Eutycheian controversy, *Bibl. Orient. Tom. II. p. 28.* in "an Inquiry into the Integrity of the Gr. Vulgate," p. 555. n. <sup>223</sup>, where the objections of MM. Porson and Griesbach are specifically answered.

it missed obtaining an introduction into the other.

But not to insist any further upon this point ;— if we may be allowed to take the safer course, and, adopting the converse of the proposition, *may* conclude, from the existence of the verse in *Eucherius's* works, that it existed in that *Prelate's Bible* ; we have sufficient authority for the assumption, in the printed and manuscript copies of his "*Formulae Spiritalis Intelligentiæ.*" By one decisive objection, atleast in the estimation of *Dr. Griesbach*, who is the real mover of the difficulties with which I contend, the true character of this testimony is, however, put out of dispute. In a passage, adduced from his "*Questiones in Vetus et Nov. Testamentum,*" this objector observes, *Eucherius* sums up the texts by which the doctrine of the Trinity is proved, and omits all mention of the *Heavenly Witnesses*. But this decisive evidence of his ignorance of the disputed passage unfortunately fails in one important respect ;\* while it omits the *Heavenly*, it incautiously overlooks the *Earthly Witnesses* ; from which the doctrine of the Trinity is not merely proved by *Eucherius*, but proved in the very passage of his "*Formulae,*" which is at present in dispute. Whether *the deficiency* in the passage of "*the Questions*" by which the testimony of the "*Formulae*" to the verse is invalidated, is to be filled up from those copies of *Eucherius's* works which retain only the *earthly witnesses*, or from those which also retain the *Heavenly Witnesses* (for the mss. of the "*Formulae*" exhibit this variety in their reading ; ) is a point which a knowledge of the state of the early

\* The objections to *Eucherius's* testimony in favor of the text of the *Heavenly Witnesses* are considered in "*the Inquiry,*" uti *supr.* p. 559. n.<sup>227</sup>.



controversies respecting the Trinity will soon enable us to determine. In its present state, the testimony of Eucherius must, I believe, take its place beside that of Facundus: for as the one Father unluckily advances too much, the other, as unfortunately, advances too little. That some expedient may not be devised, for making up the deficiency in the evidence of the one, from the superabundance in that of the other, I will not pretend to decide; but until Eucherius, by this or some such ingenious expedient, is *reconciled with himself*,\* there is, I conceive, as little to be deduced as apprehended from his testimony.

In the case of *Vigilius Tapsensis*, to which we now proceed, if we are but surprised with the reproduction of an old objection of Griesbach's, it must be confessed it comes attended with a few improvements which that diligent critic would not have willingly acknowledged. To soften the enormity of the charge, which makes this Prelate the author of so extraordinary an interpolation of the Inspired Text, we are assured that it was done through "undesigning mistake." On the perfect innocence of Vigilius, in respect to "the Confession of Faith which *he drew up*, and put forth as *the name of the African Bishops*," it is sufficient to observe, that if it cannot be easily deduced from so gentle an insinuation as that before us, it may be, without doubt, readily extracted from one consequence, which it necessarily implies. For

\* It is singular to find Mr. Porson justifying his preference for the shorter reading, on the grounds of its reconciling the "Formulæ" with the "Questions;" he observes, *Let. XII. p. 313.* "Here there is reading against reading, which shall we prefer? By all the rules of criticism, the reading which makes an author *consistent with himself*." The learned Professor's conclusion is unfortunately not borne out by his premises; as neither reading renders Eucherius consistent.

if this charge were substantiated, it would convict this "undesigning" impostor, of having not only forged the signatures of about four hundred prelates to this Confession of Faith; but of having committed one of the grossest literary frauds that has been ever practised on the Christian world.

On the minor charge, that "he put forth several tracts under the names of Athanasius, Augustinus, and Idacius," it is unnecessary to engage in a dispute; so destitute of all appearance of truth is the accusation, that "he scrupled not to insert in them the contested text, as the testimony of St. John," that *in these tracts, by whomever composed, the disputed passage is unaccountably omitted.* How this circumstance, which has excited so much of his informant Griesbach's surprise, could have escaped his observation, I stop not to inquire; it is now offered in illustration of the diligence employed in the present attack upon the Heavenly Witnesses. The contested passage is indeed noticed in one tract, which passes "under the name of *Idacius*;" but if the Benedictine Fathers' opinion is deserving of attention, and, as it is unwarpd by any sinister considerations, it will not be easily set aside; for the insertion of the disputed text in this tract, *Vigilius* has nothing to answer. After exposing the silly grounds upon which it is ascribed to him by Chifflet, they give it as their sentence, "*liquido constat, immerito adscribi libros Idatii Clari Vigilio Tapsensi Afro.*"\*

As *Vigilius*'s reputation, however, is compromised in the imputation, that "he put forth tracts, under the name of Athanasius," the charge deserves some further notice; for as far as it affects Augustine, though I perceive that it is taken on

\* Vid. S. Athanas. Opera, Tom. II. P. II. p. 603, ed. Bened.

the word of Dr. Griesbach, as I know not on what evidence it is hazarded,\* I must be pardoned in passing it over unnoticed. The grounds of this charitable imputation of Vigilius are no where to be found, unless they are discovered in the collections, which the Benedictine editors have made with their usual diligence, and inserted in their supplementary volume to the works of Athanasius. In them indeed we find, under the title of "Disputatio Athanasii cum Ario," a long tract, to which the learned editors prefix the name of Vigilius. As this work is composed in the form of a dialogue, and Athanasius is introduced as one of the speakers, the reasoner who would seriously deduce from its title the proof of a fraud practised under the name of the Alexandrian patriarch, could only merit, in reply, a smile to rebuke his simplicity. Were his pertinacity thought deserving of severer castigation, his attention might be directed from the title to the body of the work, and his presumption checked while his calumny was refuted, by one short remark of the author, delivered *in his own name*: "*ut uniuscujusque personam cum sui dogmatis professionibus, quasi præsentes cum præsentibus introducerem .... Sabellium ergo, Photinum, Arrium, atque ad nostras partes Athanasium introduxi.*"†

\* M. Dupin indeed observes, in his analysis of the Benedictine edition of Augustine, *Nouv. Biblioth. Tom. III. p. 772*. "Le livre de l'unité de Trinité est ici restitué à Vigile de Tapse, son véritable auteur, qui le cite lui-même dans la Préface de ces Livres contre Varimadus, et à qui il est attribué dans un ancien manuscrit." From this statement, it may be equally collected, how the tracts of Vigilius "have been put forth under the name of Augustine;" and how unfounded the charge is, that they were put forth in that name, by their author.

† Vid. *Disput. uti supr. ap. S. Athanas. Op. p. 642.*



But of this tract, which was "put forth under the name of Athanasius," or of Arius, for their claims to the merit of being considered the author stand on precisely the same grounds; of this tract to which the objector must either allude, or leave his charge against Vigilus destitute of the slightest authority, a further use remains to be made, than what it thus obliquely serves in evincing his learning. In this luckless tract, which is the undisputed production of Vigilus, the doctrine of the Trinity is expressly and diffusively treated: and the opinions are circumstantially detailed, which were held respecting it, by Athanasians, Sabellians and Arians. In it, the Scripture testimonies are accumulated with great industry, St. John is fully and frequently quoted, and his Epistle expressly adduced; but amid this attention riveted to the subject before us, *not the smallest notice is taken of the Heavenly Witnesses*. What conclusion the objector is disposed to deduce from this stubborn silence of his chosen witness, at such a conjuncture, I profess some desire to be informed. If to be favored with the inference which we derive from it, will afford him any inducement to gratify us with the sight of so great a curiosity; as we are not disposed to be surpassed by him in generosity, we shall precede him, in making a disclosure of the secret of our own strength. That Vigilus was thoroughly acquainted with the disputed passage, and has expressly noticed it, is a point on which we are mutually agreed; that he has intentionally omitted it, in his controversy on the Trinity, remains indisputably established, by the tract in question. It is this paradox in his testimony, of which I shall soon give the solution which raises it to a level with that of Facundus,

in supporting both parts of our hypothesis, and in leveling that of the objector to the Heavenly Witnesses in the dust. It is needless to observe, how effectually the *positive* argument in favor of the text of the Heavenly Witnesses is sustained by the *allegation* of it by Vigilus. An observation will now evince how fully the *negative* argument in its favor is confirmed by his *silence*. For, if the nature of the disputed verse, and the untoward circumstances of the controversy in which he engaged imposed, on its grand patron and fabricator, the necessity of *suppressing it*, in the very work where he was principally required to bring it forth; how unreasonable is the requisition which demands its production, at any given period of the time, in which the Trinitarian controversy was maintained!

Such is the termination of this mighty attempt to subvert the testimony of the African Church by the evidence of its members;—such the natural result of this vigorous effort to set aside its conclusiveness, by the testimony of Facundus, and to dispose of its partial effect, by the evidence of Vigilus Tapsensis. Let it be even supposed, though in defiance of all probability, that the last-named Father, with his accomplice Fulgentius, succeeded in imposing, on the Christian world, every work that already is, or may be hereafter ascribed to him, and that all of those works contained the Heavenly Witnesses. Still, the objector's hypothesis, as resting on the assumption, that they derived the disputed verse from St. Cyprian, is proved, by one or two obvious considerations, to bottom on a flagrant absurdity. In the enumeration of the Heavenly Witnesses, in every copy of this early Father, they appear under the

terms ‘Pater, *Filius*, et Spiritus Sanctus :’ in every allegation of the disputed passage by the African Fathers, they present themselves under the titles, “Pater, *Verbum*, et Spiritus Sanctus.” This is so palpably the fact, that the distinction is acknowledged by the witness, whom the objector, with his wonted felicity, claims in support of his hypothesis : while Fulgentius confronts St. Cyprian with St. John, he marks this difference between their words, by setting them in opposition. How far Vigilus and Fulgentius, in thus conspiring to *depart* from their author, give evidence of having *followed* him, every reasoner, however gifted, is endowed with capacity to decide. What illustrates the probability of the assumption, and, I trust, lays this fortunate conjecture eternally at rest, is, that by the dereliction of their author, St. Cyprian is left on the side of the orthodox, St. John thrust over to that of the heretics. For on the difference between *Filius* and *Verbum*, the whole controversy between these hostile parties turned, from the first ;\* and, as it was the heretics who rested their cause on the term *Verbum*, so perversely adopted by Vigilus and Fulgentius in opposition to the *Filius* of their original ; the heretics only could derive benefit from this improvement on the authority of St. Cyprian.

It is now to be observed, as supplementary to these remarks, that, when the same principle is followed but a little way up, out of the same distinction arises a demonstration, that neither Cyprian, nor his master Tertullian, can be the source from whence the disputed verse was derived, whatever be the member of the African Church by whom it is conceived to have been invented. For

\* Vid. Tertul. libr. adv. Praxeam. per totum.



they coincide in *adopting* the orthodox term *Filius*; while the whole of that Church conspires in *rejecting* it, for the heretical term *Verbum*: and it is in the writings of these Fathers of the African Church that we are taught the value of the distinction between these terms,\* which it would have contributed to the credit of some polemicists, who must needs meddle with their quotations,† to have learned, before they obtruded into the present dispute.

Let it be further stated, as a corollary to these observations on Tertullian and Cyprian, that, as the disputed verse cannot be traced to their expositions, without violating all probability;‡ their unquestionable allusion to the Heavenly Witnesses, and quotation of ‘tres unum sunt,’ cannot be traced to the earthly witnesses, mentioned in the

\* The opposition between these terms, which is marked in the whole of the controversy between Tertullian and Praxeas, is distinctly expressed in the following passage; Tert. ib. cap. xi. “Quemadmodum *apud nos* distincte Pater “et *Filius* demonstrantur, distincte inquam non divise.... Sic “tu contra opponas, alicubi Deum dixisse, ‘Eructavit est “meum *Sermonem* optimum;’ ut ipse sit qui et eructavit et “quod eructavit.” The inference deduced by the catholics from the force of the term *Filius*, may be seen, Ibid. cap. x. that deduced by the heretics from the force of the term *Verbum* or *Sermo*, may be seen, ib. cap. vii. conf. infr. n. ‡

† In touching on this subject, it would be injustice to withhold the tribute justly due to a Prelate not less distinguished by his great piety, than profound learning; the eminent scholar and divine, who now adorns the See of Salisbury: who among the many arguments, by which he has so powerfully contributed to maintain the authenticity of the Heavenly Witnesses, has produced some apposite testimonies from Tertullian.

‡ From the very term *Verbum* in the disputed text, for which Tertullian and Cyprian uniformly use *Sermo*, a further proof arises, that the passage in dispute could not have originated in the expositions of those early Fathers: the former of them writes Ibid. cap. v. “Hanc [rationem ipsius Dei] Græci λόγον dicunt

succeeding verse, without warring against common sense. Neither text nor comment as they represent them, can, by any straining, be referred to the earthly witnesses. The clause as cited without the *preposition*, while it differs essentially from the *eighth* verse, literally agrees with the seventh.\* In explanation of this clause, Tertullian decides, that 'tres' in the masculine, as opposed to 'unum' in the neuter, indicates *a person*, as distinguished from *a substance*; and Cyprian acquiesces in the justness of the distinction, in an express reference to the Heavenly Witnesses.† Let the tail of the verse, 'et hi tres unum sunt' thus expounded, be re-united with the head, 'spiritus,

"quo vocabulo etiam *Sermonem* appellamus." Conf. Cypr. adv. Jud. cap. i. § 3. Some mss. indeed of Cyprian read *Verbum* for *Sermo* in John i. 1. as quoted in his Testimonies; but from the known attachment of that Father to Tertullian, and the facility with which the former term might be adopted from the Latin Vulgate, there can be no doubt that *Sermo* was the genuine, as it is the received reading of Cyprian.

\* The unwarrantable assumption, that the clause 'tres unum sunt' belongs to the *eighth* verse, is directly opposed to the original, which reads, not τρεῖς ἰν' εἰσι, but ἑρῆς εἰς τὸ ἰν' εἰσι, and to the analogy of the Latin translation, which renders John xvii. 22, 23. ἵνα ᾤσιν ἰν' . . . ἵνα ᾤσιν . . . εἰς ἰν', respectively by 'ut sint unum . . . ut sint . . . in unum. And the distinction is admitted by the ancient translator of Irenæus, adv. Hær. i. xi. 3. who renders ἵνα σὺν ἀδελφῇ κατίλθῃ εἰς τὸ ἰν', by 'ut cum eo descendat in unum': and what is more to the point, it is admitted by the ancient writer, who has published the tract on Baptism, under the name of *St. Cyprian*; he thus quotes the earthly witnesses, 'Quia tres testimonium perhibent, spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis: et isti tres in unum sunt.' Vid. Opusc. Cypr. adscript. p. 29. ed. Fell. The confusion of these essentially different phrases, in the Latin Vulgate, has led the allegorists, who have expounded the eighth verse, into some curious blunders, into which they were drawn by the version of Jerome, who was misled, in rendering it, by a Hebrew idiom.

† Tertull. ut supr. cap. xxv. comp. Person Lett. X. p. 240.

‡ Cypr. de Unit. Eccles. p. 108.

aqua et sanguis,' and it so ingeniously misses its mark, that instead of illustrating the author's sense or exemplifying the expositor's meaning, it reduces the text of the one to pure nonsense, and furnishes an illustration by which the comment of the other is proved to be not merely false but absurd. For instead of being persons, 'the water and blood' must, under every construction, remain substances;\* while their comment makes them not only persons, but of one substance with 'the spirit.' There consequently exists but the one mode of evading this objection, and removing the charge of absurdity from their comments upon the sacred text, which lies in the conviction, that they have referred to the text of the Heavenly Witnesses.

With these considerations, let it be now taken into account, that the Church of which these Fathers were members, have acknowledged, in an early Confession of Faith, the authenticity of the disputed verse; that no time can be pointed out when it could have been obtruded into the Canon, and no person imagined by whom it could be in-

\* St. Augustine acknowledges thus much, even while contending for that allegorical signification of 1 John v. 8. which is pronounced irreconcilable with the text of the Heavenly Witnesses, and in the very part of his works, from which it is conceived they have been transferred into St. John's Epistle. S. August. contr. Maxim. II. iii. col. 726. a. "Tria itaque novimus de corpore Domini exisse, cum penderet in ligno: primo '*spiritum*,' unde scriptum est, 'et inclinato capite, tradidit spiritum;' deinde quando latus ejus lancea perforatum est, *sanguinem* et *aquam*.' *Quæ tria si per se ipsa intuemur diversas habent singula quæque substantias: ac per hoc non sunt unum.*' The difficulty which the learned father labors to remove, has however originated in the mis-translation of the Latin Vulgate: which, omitting the preposition, renders the Greek, *οι τρεις αι: νε: ε: αν,* by 'tres unum sunt: ' for the clause, '*spiritus aqua et sanguis is unum sunt,*' is accurately just; as meaning 'are co-existent,' not consubstantial.



roduced; and let it be then decided, whether this passage, to which those early Fathers have fitted an exposition, that agrees admirably with it, and will agree with no other passage of Scripture, really existed or not, in the Sacred Text, to which they incontestibly refer in their comment.

But to bar the pretensions, not only of those fathers, but of all others whatever, to whom the fabrication of the contested verse may be hereafter ascribed, I here put a plea on record; and that it may be advanced on evidence not to be questioned, challenge, in behalf of it, the chosen witnesses, Facundus and Vigilus, whose testimony has been opposed to the whole church of Africa.

The differences that set the parties at variance, which divided that church, as they are stated by Facundus, and confirmed by Vigilus, were these: while the orthodox contended for "*Filius Dei in duabus naturis*;" the heretics disputed for "*Verbum Dei in una simplici natura*." \* In the multifarious shapes which the contested verse has assumed, it is always true to one side of the question, which need not be specified: as it reads, — "*tres sunt qui testificantur in cœlo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt*." I shall waste no time in proving which party would have found it to their advantage, to call in the aid of this text, to settle the dispute. The clue, thus furnished, will enable the dullest inquirer to unravel every intricacy in a subject so curiously perplexed to those

\* The authorities for this assertion are cited at the close of my next letter. The distinction between *Filius* and *Verbum* is admitted by Tertullian, *supr.* p. 172. n.\* and was acknowledged in the controversy between Eusebius and Marcellus; *vid. Euseb. de Eccl. Theol.* I. xvi. 78. b. Inquir. into Integr. of Gr. Vulg. p. 529. n.<sup>156</sup>.

who refuse to follow its guidance. For thus the paradox which embarrasses the testimony of the umpires to whom the controversy is referred receives an immediate solution.—The antipathy which Facundus manifests towards one part of the disputed text, and the partiality which he evinces for the remainder of it, are in this view at once reconciled: that part of it having been *suppressed* by him which favored the Eutychians,\* and that part of it *adduced* which confuted the Nestorians.† The obstinate silence which Vigilius preserves to the whole passage is thus also as fully explained: for, as he introduced Sabellius maintaining his own cause against Athanasius; in producing it in the Trinitarian controversy, he must have brought it forth, on the side, and from the mouth of the heretic. ‡

\* From the quotations at the close of my next Letter, it will be seen, that while the Catholics contended for *two* substances in *one* of the Persons, the Eutychians disputed for *one* substance in the *three* Persons of the Trinity; the contested verse, of course, gave a direct testimony in their favor, and was of consequence directly opposed to Facundus, who undertook to refute them.

† The Nestorians, who divided the person of Christ, as the Eutychians confounded the natures, derided the notion of the Catholics, that one of the Persons of the *Trinity* descended from heaven *to earth*, and was *crucified*; vid. Assemani, uti supr. or Inquiry into Integr. of Gr. Vulg. p. 556. n. 223. To this supposition “the explication of Facundus” is directly opposed; Defens. Tri. Cap. I. iii. “Numquid hi tres qui in *terra* testificari, et qui unum esse dicuntur, possunt spiritus aut *aquæ aut sanguines* dici. Quod tamen Johannis Apostoli testimonium B. Cyprianus *..de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto* dictum intelligit.” It is needless to point out, why Facundus insisted on the verse of St. John, thus explained, and retained *in terra*, which he rendered emphatical by a frequent repetition. It is equally unnecessary to observe, that “the water and blood bore witness” to the *crucifixion*.

‡ The Sabellians, excepting against the term *Filius*, main-

This difficulty in the testimony of those Fathers being adjusted; on their joint authority, I now put forth my plea. In a word, they prove, not by an isolated passage, but the entire tenor of their works, that whatever nameless fabricator of this verse be conjured up, whatever inscrutable object be assigned him in fabricating it; as the controversies of the African Church were managed, *he must have forged and ascribed it to St. John, to place the authority of the Evangelist on the side of the heretics.* Thus, on a supposition, so utterly repugnant to common sense, as that the Fathers of this Church practiced a fraud upon the Apostle, to place his authority on the side of their opponents, every system, however ingeniously constructed, which is opposed to their testimony in favor of the contested verse, must ultimately rest. Until, therefore, some rational motive be assigned for so senseless a purpose, which, from some experience in this controversy I do not wholly despair of seeing some ingenious polemic laboring to effect; every hypothesis which is opposed to *the external evidence borne by them to the disputed verse* must have this stupid absurdity for its foundation.

Of the other objections of your correspondent to the disputed verse, I hope, by God's blessing, to give as good an account, on a future occasion. I am at a loss to conjecture, what other advantage may have been gained by his attack upon the evidence of the African Church, —but that of having enabled its defenders, by his feeble and unskilful

tained, that "the Father, Word, and Spirit were *one*" substance, spirit, or person; their doctrine, of course, could not be expressed in more apposite terms than those employed in the text of the Heavenly Witnesses. See *Inquir. into Integr. of Gr. Vulg.* p. 550.



restatement of the old objections to its testimony to repel them more forcibly, with the arguments, by which they have been, for nearly seven years, set aside : unless, indeed, I may be allowed to conclude, that he takes some credit to himself, for having brought another confirmation, by his example, to the shrewd observation of him who has told us, that " truth may bend, but it will never break, and always surmounts falsehood, as oil floats above water. "

I have the honor to be &c. &c.

March, 22d. 1822.

LETTER II.

ON THE

HEAVENLY WITNESSES.

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*To the Editor of the Christian Remembrancer.*

SIR.

THE question being once fairly stated between the Greek and the Latin Church, the controversy on the Heavenly Witnesses may be brought to a speedy issue. Two considerations, when given their proper bearing upon the subject, seem to enforce the necessity of acquiescing in the *positive* testimony borne to the disputed text by the *Latins*, rather than the negative testimony of the *Greeks*: particularly, as it is borne by the only one of the early guardians of Scripture, which did not apostatise from the *doctrine* of the disputed passage.

1. The *internal evidence*, it seems not to be disputed by any competent judge, and is not to be disproved by any conclusive mode of reasoning, confirms the testimony of the Latin Church, as requiring the *insertion* of the Heavenly Witnesses. Without considering the scope of the Apostle's reasoning, or the connexion of his sense; the structure of his language requires them to be inserted, as necessary to avoid a barbarously solecistic construction. On discarding the passage from the sacred text, *masculine* adjectives (τρῖς οἱ μαρτυροῦντες) are forced into concordance with *neuter* substantives, (τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ αἶμα): on replacing it in the apostle's text, this objection vanishes; those adjectives

tives finding suitable substantives in the Heavenly Witnesses, (ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ λόγος καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.) Without availing ourselves of the allowable licence of accommodating the context of the Greek to the Latin, by a strictly grammatical translation, for which high authority might be pleaded ;\* we have, I believe, the authority of Matthäi, † and of Porson himself, ‡ most certainly that of Eugenius, Bishop

\* As it is now generally acknowledged, that 1 Joh. v. 7. has been admitted, by the Complutensian editors, into the Greek Text, merely in a *translation* from the Vulgate ; and adopted by Erasmus, from the Dublin ms. into which it had been likewise incorporated in a *translation* : it is perfectly absurd to raise any objection, to the argument deduced from the internal evidence, from the solecism in the *eighth* verse, which is exclusively imputable to the *translators*. Those who may suppose the adjectives which qualify the earthly witnesses should be used in the *neuter* may find authority for the supposition among the Greek and Latin Fathers. Mr. Porson, it is true, observes Lett. IX. p. 120. "Eucherius indeed reads the eighth and Etherius both the seventh and eighth verses, with *tria* in the neuter ; but I know no Greek writer who has done the same in either of the verses." See however Orig. Com. in Johan. l. vi. § 26. Greg. Naz. Encom. Athan. § 7. The former testimony is all but express : Orig. *ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 143. ἵνα καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἀνέγγοντο τὰ τέσσα ἑς ἓν θεῶματα. I cannot, notwithstanding, see any reason for altering the received reading. Vid. *infr.* n. †

† Vid. Matth. Nov. Test. Vol. IX. p. ix.

‡ A dabbler in the present subject, having made the Quarterly Review the channel through which he has published his incompetency, in obtruding into a controversy, to which he has contributed nothing more important or original than the objection specified in the preceding note\* : it may be therefore expedient to oppose his shallow confidence with an authority before which, he must submissively bend. Porson, Lett. III. p. 51. "And it is no more than justice to allow, that they [the Complutensian editors] did their work like workmen. *They made good Greek of their Latin*, a task to which the translator of the Lateran Decrees, and the writer of the Dublin ms. were unequal." The objection to the Greek of the eighth verse, consequently rests on the *authority* of the reviewer.



of Cherson,\* for asserting, that the introduction of the Heavenly Witnesses removes every grammatical objection to the context. That by their removal, an insuperable objection arises to it may be referred to the decision of a judge, whom none will deny to be impartial, and few dispute to be competent. "But what" observes Bishop Marsh in reference to the Epistle before us, "shall we say to readings, which when connected with the context make *false grammar*? What shall we say to a verb singular &c. . . . to a *masculine adjective* referring to a *neuter substantive*? . . . Now the question to be asked is, *is it possible*, that Velez found *this*, and the other readings of the same stamp, in a *Greek manuscript*?" "Even a man" he elsewhere reasons, "who learnt Greek by mere usage and conversation, without being taught its first principles, could not *possibly* have written," as St. John is *proved* to have written by those, who like the *sagacious* oppugners of the Heavenly Witnesses reject the disputed text from his Epistle.

2. The *Disciplina Arcani*, as effectually disposes of the evidence of the *Greek Church*, in annihilating the *negative* testimony, which it bears to the controverted passage. It is, in fact, not to be disputed, and is indeed tacitly allowed, that this peculiar discipline obtained in the ancient Church.

\* Eugen. Epist. ad Cl. Matth. ibid p. ix. "Quod enim in Versione Latina recte exprimitur masculino 'sermonis' genere, id in ipso textu Græco originali, non præsupposito superiore versiculo, haud plane consisteret nisi cum violentia quadam dictionis, et per *solacismum* patentissimum. By the introduction of the disputed verse, an attraction is formed, by which the construction is justified; as this learned Greek was obviously of opinion.

† Marsh's Lett. to Travis, Append. iii. p. 276. comp. Pref. p. i. n. 1.

all of whose members were solemnly bound by it to suppress those mysteries, in silence, of which the contested verse embraces the highest. \* As the elaborate investigations of its impugnors end in simply proving the silence of the Eastern Church respecting that text, they have effected little more than a confirmation of the preceding solution of this difficulty in her testimony. It is curious to find Mr. Professor Porson confirming the argument thus deducible from the *Disciplina Arcani*, by a confession as voluntary and decisive, as that drawn from Bishop and Professor Marsh, on the internal evidence of the contested passage. While that accurate critic professes to collect every thing which has been opposed to the disputed text, he leaves the former argument, (as he likewise does the succeeding,) standing without an effort to weaken its force. Having admitted,† that if the principle is acknowledged, the conclusion which is deduced from it, follows of course; he thus records his incapacity to shake it, "I have declined the consideration of the *Disciplina Arcani*, nor shall I restate it. It is a dangerous hypothesis," &c.‡ But the danger which is imputed to this hypothesis obviously diminishes nothing of its truth; and is

\* On the *Disciplina Arcani*, vid. Pagi, Crit. Hist. Chron. in Annal. Baron. Sect. ii p. 25. ad An. Chr. 118. The argument deduced from it has been applied, by the learned J. A. Bengelius, in support of the text of the H. Witnesses, vid. Obs. in 1 Johan. v. 7. § xxxv. p. 473. conf. § xxiii. p. 470. ed. Bunk.

† Porson, Lett. to Travis, XI. p. 285.

‡ Id. ibid. Lett. XII. p. 395. The 'danger' imputed to this argument bottoms upon one of those sophisms, of which such convenient advantage is taken in this controversy. It proceeds upon the *petitio principii*, that of the vouchers for the Sacred Text, the Greek Church alone is entitled to a voice, while the *postulatum* on which we reason is, that the Latin is equally entitled to a suffrage. To any one moderately versed in

indeed no more than a bugbear weakly intended to deter us from using a weapon the edge of which has been sensibly felt. The polemic, who has no better defence to make against this objection to *the silence* of the Eastern Church, treacherously conspires with the disputant, who admits that to *the solecism* in her testimony; which equally convicts it of an *intentional omission*. The one indeed magnanimously cedes the ground from which the other prudently retreats; but both leave the field in the possession of the advocates of the Heavenly Witnesses.

These arguments, it must be granted, have little effect if two very pretty expedients, contrived by a new assailant, who figures in this Journal, be entitled to any attention. By this polemic we are gravely assured, (1) that the neuter substantives are not taken in concordance with the masculine adjectives, but depend upon them, by an ellipsis of *κατά*. After imputing an exposition of the eighth verse to St. Cyprian, to which there is not any allusion in that father, however remote; he deduces it from the peculiar construction, in which “the three nouns, τὸ πνῦμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ αἷμα, are not ‘considered as being of the nominative, but of the ‘accusative case; and as severally governed by *κατά* ‘understood.”\* (2) We are instructed how to dis-

Eccelesiastical History, it must be palpable, that, from the notorious apostacy of the Greek Church, the *only real danger* lies in a too implicit reliance upon her single testimony. The doctrinal integrity of the early Latin Church affords the best guarantee of her integrity; and until the possibility of *both* of the vouchers being corrupted is proved; the *danger* of which the objector talks is purely *chimerical*. Should he engage in the proof of so much; what, may we ask, becomes of the security upon which he relies against *danger*? See Inqu. into Integr. of Gr. Vulg. p. 293, 294, 305, 306, 416, 417.

\* Oxlee, ut supra Lett. II. p. 136.



pose of the *positive testimony* of the Latin Church to the disputed verse, by the intervention of Vigilius Tapsensis. It is at length discovered, that this father disposed that Church to receive the verse as authentic text, "by inserting it as the testimony of St. John, in several tracts," which he imposed upon them "under the names of Athanasius, Augustinus, and Idacius."\*

(1) To enable us to appreciate the curious contrivance thus proposed for remedying the solecism in the Apostle's context, it is much to be regretted its author has not favoured the world with a new system of Greek Accidence; as the first principles of the language are unfortunately violated, by his expedient for removing the *grammatical* difficulties of the construction. If the received system of grammar be not altogether erroneous, *adjectives*, when taken in the *masculine*, without substantives, require "*men* or *persons*" to agree with them; to which sense (if this word may be here used without an offensive negative particle) we are rather perversely led by "*the witness of men*," which immediately follows in the context;—"the witness of God" referring to "*the spirit which witnesseth*" preceding. The same principle being assumed on the system of grammar;—*active participles*, as possessed of a verbal force, require the case of their verbs, and *μαρτυρίω*, by a luckless chance, and the usage of Greek, requires the *dative*; while *μαρτυρεῖς* is in the proposed construction prefixed to the *accusative*. The elliptical construction with *κατά* belongs to adjectives, or passive participles which have the same force as adjectives; because, as wanting an active force, they can only govern by the intervention of a preposition. But in the propo-

\* Vid. *supra* p. 161.

sed construction, we have the governed case rather curiously connected with an active participle; which takes the dative when the preposition is omitted, and which requires the genitive, in the sense of 'bearing witness *against*,' where *κατά* is inserted. By such creditable objections (at which he must be a hardened school-boy who would not be overwhelmed with shame) we are, I trust, exonerated from the humiliating task of pursuing these observations further, from the structure of the text to its sense and connexion. These and all such objections, when they are proposed, the author of this exposition is, in his own estimation at least, fully competent to dissipate, by brandishing his "triple lash" over the heads of his opponents. Until he has so far contributed to their amusement as to make the attempt, the construction which he proposes, may, without further ceremony, be dismissed, to take its proper place among the other suggestions of its proposer. That it is not to be reconciled with sense or grammar, may be assumed, without further proof, on the simple grounds of its having been overlooked, for so many centuries, by every reader, translator, and expositor of St. John, however competent to decide on the Evangelist's reasoning and language.

(2) The author's rival expedient for disposing of the external testimony to the disputed text, in tracing it to "the tracts put forth by Vigilius," has been already propounded for the reader's edification; and a just estimate given, in a former review of its merits.\* In the defence which he makes to the charge of incompetency, by which he has been assailed, he again submits himself to the ordeal; and the entertainment which he furnishes, in once

\* Vid. *supra* p. 107. seq.

more appearing on the stage, derives not a little of its zest from the new method which he reveals of "crushing," as shall be soon publicly proved, "a smatterer in theological science, who," to borrow an expression from his own courtly phrase, "impudently imposes upon the world."

From the main point in dispute, *the testimony delivered by the African Church in its Confession of Faith*, he now deems it prudent to retire, without further opposition. He affects to cover his retreat by discharging a Parthian shaft at his opponent, who is charged with "a most wilful misrepresentation of his meaning." In truth, what honest mind must not feel its indignation rise, at the foul misconstruction which has been put upon his words, while it is *obvious*, as he now explains himself, that, "in stating Vigilius drew up that confession *in the name* of the African bishops, he 'intended *nothing more* than that he composed it *by the direction and with the concurrence* of those prelates."\* To beat down this unabashed confidence to the ground, and exhibit in its natural colors, the respect for equity and truth with which this defence of his error is advanced, in a charge of wilful misrepresentation against his opponent, it is only necessary to propound one or two questions to be solved at his leisure. Are we to include in this ingenuous apology *the latter part* of the charge which he has urged against Vigilius,† respecting "the *several tracts* which he put forth *under the names* of Athanasius, Augustinus, and Idacius," and to conclude, that they also were "composed by the direction and with the concurrence of those prelates?" Or if this absurdity be too gross to get down; by what legerdemain is the plea to be

\* Vid. *supra* p. 161.

† Ibid.



withdrawn from this part of the sentence in which his charge is conveyed against Vigilus; the conclusion of which takes it to itself, by every rule of interpretation by which it is appropriated by its commencement?

The case of the African Church being thus prudently abandoned, a stand is then made upon "the 'tracts put forth under the name of Athanasius;'" for "Augustine and Idacius" very quietly withdraw from the dispute, having been doubtless thrust into it by some "most wilful misrepresentation". Of this ground respondent makes choice, "for the purpose of manifesting on *whose* side the ignorance lies;" and he somewhat pleasantly lays the foundation of his proof, in an avowal, "that the *Athanasii Opera* which he has is a *Latin version only*, printed at Paris in 1608." The advantages, derived by the author of this confession, in transferring the charge of "ignorance" to the side of his opponent, cannot be more appositely expressed than in the words of an umpire, to whom he appeals in the present dispute. "You ought 'to be told, Sir,'" declares Mr. Porson, on a like occasion of appealing from an exploded edition, to one by the Benedictines, "that when correct editions are published, on the faith of MSS., no 'critic is allowed to argue from the old and corrupt 'readings,'"\* much less is he allowed to reason from the old and spurious additions.

After this peroration to his defence, he enters on the proof of his charge against Vigilus, which consists in returning on our hands, as his composition, the Books *ad Theophilum*, which I formerly mentioned, as ascribed by the Benedictines to Idacius, and clearly proved by them not to have

\* Porson, ut supra Lett. XI. p. 293.

unedifying, to trace him through the windings and doublings into which he is driven, in making the semblance of a case against that African late. At one turn, we are given to understand that the books, addressed to Theophilus, are ascribed by his Latin editor to *Athanasius*; but by a quick retrograde movement are soon informed that on the judgment of Bengel, Griesbach, Porson, they should be ascribed to *Vigilius*. While, by every rule of fair reasoning, either of these contradictory propositions confutes its opposite; they are ingeniously clubbed into one authority, and from one half of it the proof is extended, that these books "were put forth under the name of *Athanasius*," and from the other, that they were put forth "by *Vigilius*." After so much labor to blink the point in dispute, can it be deemed within the bounds of credibility, that Porson, to whose judgment a reference is so confidently made, after recapitulating the arguments of the Benedictines, respecting the author of the books joins issue with them in giving sentence against the claims of *Vigilius*? "In short," he serves, "*Vigilius's claims* to either of these propositions," the books *ad Theophilum*, or *contra* V

Where this swaggerer now lies, with his "triple lash," and "tracts put forth by Vigilius," it is needless to point out. But while justice remains to be done to his veracity, he must not be suffered to rise and retire with the reputation which he has earned for information. "This," he observes, in closing his defence, "will be amply sufficient to prove *on what grounds* I have charged Vigilius with having composed certain tracts under the name of Athanasius." To beat down this confidence of assertion once more under foot, it is only necessary to produce the following extract from the writer, who has supplied the substance as well of his theory as of its present defence. "Jam de Vigilio," says Dr. Griesbach, *observandum est, . . . quod libellos suos, sub nominibus fictis Athanasii, Augustini, et Idacii, maluit in lucem emittere, quam suum nomen profiteri*:"\* this extract, I, on the contrary assert, "will be amply sufficient to shew on what grounds" the original charge was advanced against Vigilius. My proof of the charge which is insinuated in this remark, is founded not merely on the fact, that *all* the information with which it is accompanied, is *adopted*, without the ceremony of an acknowledgment, from Dr. Griesbach: nor yet on the circumstance that an exact coincidence, even to the spelling of Idatius's name, exists between *this extract from Dr. Griesbach* and the respondent's charge against Vigilius; but mainly on the consideration, that Augustine and Idatius's names, however associated in the *extract from Dr. Griesbach*, and the respondent's original charge, equally disappear from his present de-

\* Griesbach. Diatrib. ad loc. 1 Joh. v. 7. Nov. Test. II. p. 705.



fence; and that no straining or distorting will ever include them in any defence, which is built like the present, simply on the respondent's Gothic Athanasius.

Under a sense of the result in which the discussion was thus only calculated to end, a man of ordinary nerves would have sought a way to escape from a dispute, which he had unluckily revived, without forecasting the consequences. But the respondent, seeing that no appearance could be saved, after a brandish of his "triple lash," coolly wipes his front, and discharging a second volley of courtly phrases against "smatterers who impudently impose upon the world," faces his opponent with a charge, which his conscience must have brought home to his own bosom. "But as to the *Disputatio Athanasii cum Ario*," he observes, in taking his leave of the question, "which my antagonist rises up like a scholar fully prepared to vindicate as the production of Vigilius, I am bound to congratulate him on the possession of such a treasure, to which both I and the editor of [my Gothic] Athanasius were equally strangers, and hope it may be of service, in extricating him out of those difficulties, in which the precipitancy of his conduct has involved him."—I waste no time in inquiring how far this, his shameful confession, of being as much a stranger to the works of Vigilius as of Athanasius, helps it author out, in shifting the imputation of "ignorance" to the side of his opponent. But may I venture to ask how it is to be turned, in averting the charge which he is ever substantiating against his own veracity? Whatever strangers himself and his editor may have been to this

tract and its author, we have yet to learn how both escaped being introduced to him, by the informant, to whom he is indebted for the whole of the knowledge he has been able to muster in the present controversy. For, can it be again deemed within the bounds of credibility, that *Dr. Griesbach* deals by the "*Disputatio Athanasii*," precisely as *Mr. Porson* deals by the *Books ad Theophilum*: after summing up the evidence of the *Benedictines* respecting it, he thus adds his acquiescence in their sentence? "*Altercatio autem . . . Arii et Athanasii, recte tribui videtur Vigilio, cum auctor esse contra Varimadum scripsisse fatetur, quem admodum Vigilius, Lib. V. contr. Eutych. se Altercationem . . . scripsisse testatur, sub Athanasii nomine.*"\* Thus at length comes forth the whole truth without shuffling or evasion; this being the only work on which the respondent's fundamental charge can be, for a moment, sustained, that "*Vigilius* put forth tracts under the name of *Athanasius*." But what countenance this work (of which I have already spoken) lends to the remainder of the charge, that in these tracts "he scrupled not to insert 1 John v. 7. as the testimony of St. John," it is reserved for *Dr. Griesbach* to announce, in dropping the curtain on the last scene of our entertainment. "*Quicquid est non profitetur hoc dictum . . . ne tum quidem, ubi auctor eo carere vix potest.*"†

The consequences entailed by this sad confession, upon the author's equally learned and sagacious hypothesis, I have already set before the reader.‡ And to the decision of the least inform-

\* *Griesb. ut supra p. 705.*

† *Id. ibid.*

‡ *Vid. supra p. 170.*

ed among those who come under the denomination, it is now referred, whether it is not this polemic's good fortune to be ever put down by his own witnesses: whether he is not as cruelly betrayed by Porson and Griesbach, in his present distress, as by Facundus and Vigilius in his former embarrassment. I have taken this summary course with his defence, and have declined a direct attack upon his information, notwithstanding the fertile sources of amusement which his hypothesis affords, in other respects besides that of ascribing the first and ninth of the books *ad Theophilum* to the same author, though not even composed in the same language. For what doubt could be indulged, even among readers of his own range of reading, of the true character of that disputant's pretensions, who is reduced, at the present day, to the woful plight of bolstering up a defence, by Latin versions, spurious works and exploded editions? That task I have accordingly waved, and have directed my care to the offensive object of doing justice to his veracity. To this disgusting office I have descended, with the view of exhibiting the purity of the source from whence the imputation issues, when with the shameless acknowledgment of having not even inspected his opponent's authorities, he caricatures him, on suspicion of "reporting a falsehood."

The controversy being freed from the impertinencies with which it has been perplexed, and the new assailant of the Heavenly Witnesses, with the modicum of learning and argument which he has so bountifully contributed to it, reduced to the proper level; the question recovers the ground on which it has been placed by the ablest disputants who have engaged in the contest. And as no



impression has been made on *the internal evidence*, which confirms the *positive* testimony of the *Latin Church*; as no defence has been made to the argument deduced from the *disciplina arcani*, which disposes of the *negative* testimony of the *Greek Church*; the field necessarily remains in the possession of the defenders of the Heavenly Witnesses.

The main question being thus determined, the minor considerations which enter into the dispute may be now dispatched with little difficulty. Having already discussed the subject of Facundus and Eucherius's testimony, seriously and at large, with the principal in this controversy; when again pressed by his pupil and transcriber, with arguments the shallowness of which has been long exposed, no course is left me, in renewing the subject, but to make a grave appeal to the infallibility of Travis or Martin. This process however ludicrous, would be infinitely less risible than that by which I am opposed: when after being forced to swallow a repetition of the dose from the German doctor, diluted as usual with water-gruel, I am compelled to take his opinion on the wholesomeness of the prescription. One or two observations, however, on the testimony of those Fathers may not be wholly thrown away, as calculated to do justice to the ways and means employed by the respondent, in his management of controversy.

In reference to his instructor, Dr. Griesebach's decision on the subject, we are informed that "*his account of the only edition of Facundus is, that it was printed from a manuscript copy in the Vatican, which has been used by Baronius.*" When

the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, in its *various* editions, is inspected and Griesbach's account produced, "e solo apographo codicis aut codicum Vatic. quo Baronius usus fuerat," if it does little credit to the accuracy of the preceptor's information, it cannot fail to do justice to the pupil's veracity. When any edition of so rare a work as the *Bibliotheca Patrum* falls in the way of the respondent, he may be recommended for a qualification to fit him for talking about Eucherius, to inspect the interpretation given by that father of the first text, Gen. i. 1. cited in his "Questions," in proof of the Trinity.\* I subjoin his gloss on the first word, which will, I believe, satisfy the curiosity of every reader respecting the remainder; "In principio hoc est, in Filio." This instance without descending to the texts with which it is associated, will probably teach the respondent, that there is a case in the "Questions," which is strictly analogous to 1 John v. 8, however unlike it may be to 1 John v. 7, which is really out of the immediate subject of dispute. And by it I once more repeat, the consistency is clearly established between the "Formulae," in solely adducing the eighth verse, in illustration of the Trinity, and the "Questions," in wholly omitting it, in a formal enumeration of the passages, by which the mystery is proved, among which Gen. i. 1. 2. are included. Nor can there be any method devised for reconciling the Formulae with the Questions, but that of supposing the latter have suffered that defalcation, which has removed the *Heavenly Witnesses*.

To fit these observations, as usual, with a co-

\* Vid. Eucher. Quæst. V. et N. Test. p. 88. ed. Sichard.

† Idem ibid.



rollary, I shall now combine the two general rules which the respondent deduces from the testimony of those fathers, into one, in order to give them some strength; and by the waste of *a single word*, paralyze their power of doing good or harm, in the present dispute. "Whoever," he infers "expounds the eighth verse of the Trinity 'in unity. . . or cites it without the spurious addition, *in terra*, gives evidence, that the seventh 'verse was not in his [Greek] copy." Our controversy, however, is unhappily about Latin copies, for the whole of the Greek are given up. And those fathers who come under the proscription of the general rules, which I have here combined in one, wrote after Eusebius's revisal of the original, and either habitually referred to it, like Augustine, or were engaged in controversy with the Greeks, like Leo and Facundus.

Having thus disengaged myself from the weary load of the preceptor and pupil; I am now at leisure to contemplate the vital impression, which has been made, upon the 'plea that I have put on record.'

Had I not formerly traced from the earliest period, and by the highest authorities, the rise and progress of those heresies by which the Catholics, while contending for the faith, were pressed in contrary directions; the nature of the authorities, to which the respondent appeals, would exempt me from the heavy task of following him, from the times of Auxentius, in his solemn parade, through Latin versions, spurious tracts, and exploded editions. He must be again dismissed, to inspect the first chapter, at least, of the respective works which his trusty witnesses, Vigilius and Facundus,



have written expressly on the subject under discussion, to qualify him for better or no opinion on the subject which he so "ambiguously" He will thus be brought to perceive, though not induced to confess, that "the *heresy* with which the "orthodox of that age had to contend," was really two-fold: and this monster with two heads, having a cross of the Nestorian and Eurychian, he may be further assured, *still continues to infect the East*. If, after the toil of perusing the first chapter of Pacudus, his courage supports him in reaching the fifth, it will instruct him as to the wisdom, though it never awaken him to the shame, of undertaking to "demonstrate his antagonist must 'have reported a falsehood,' while he is reduced to the necessity of confessing his ignorance of the works which he has quoted. As some reward to requite the labour of such a search, he is yet to be told, that from the same chapter of his chosen witness, a reply to his wise and pertinent questions, may be extracted; unless it is precluded by some incurable, intellectual defect. For he may there find, "what his opponent means by 'the heretical term *verbum*? \*and what heresy 'there may be in maintaining the *one simple nature* 'or *substance*, of the DIVINE Word?" As the

\* This question will be best answered by the following quotation: Michael. Introd. Vol. III. ch. vii. § 3. p. 281. Marsh's Trans. "Now we know that the *Gnostics* in general, and *Cerinthians* in particular, applied the term λόγος to denote a divine person. Since therefore St. John has adopted several other terms which were used by the *Gnostics*, we may conclude that he derived also the term λόγος from the same source. If it be further asked, whence did the *Gnostics* derive the use of the term *Word*, I answer that they derived it from the Oriental or Zoroastrian philosophy." See also Inqu. into Integr. of Greek Vulgate, p. 268, n. 222

shortest method of deciding the latter point, let him dismiss the terms "divine and substance" with which Facundus's words are ingeniously, or unwittingly interpolated, and which hold their place in them, to demonstrate his incapacity, to square them to his own creed, without those interpolations which impart *the whole* of its orthodoxy to his question. When this task is performed, let him then answer, in what other language, *the Sabellian*, who fell infinitely below *the Eutychian*, in his notion of the Trinity, would have *chosen* to describe his tenets? He may then, possibly, by a further stretch of his sagacity, reach the point really in dispute between us, and answer his first question, put with an amendment:—What Catholic, in controversy with an *Eutychian*, ever yielded his assent to "*the one simple substance*" of *the three Persons*? For it is of them, and not of "the Word" only, that the consubstantiality is asserted, in "*hi tres unum sunt*," of the disputed text.

After the preceding specimen of the respondent's skill in putting an objection, I am sensible, that I shall expose myself to censure or ridicule, in bestowing on the strictures that follow, so much importance, as to deem them worthy of a refutation. As the two reasons, however, if such they may be termed, which he assigns for the substitution of *Verbum* in the text of St. John, for *Filius* in the interpretations of the African Fathers, may be dispatched in a very few words, the time may not be wholly lost which is mis-spent in such an undertaking. This change was made he has discovered, (1) "to avoid some cavils of the Arians" and Eutychians; (2) the term *Filius* being used

"for Christ in two natures, whereas (3) the term 'Verbum explained itself,'"

(1) What grounds the Arians could have found for caviling at the term *Filius* will best appear from the consideration of their having given a preference to this term, in constructing their own confessions. In a creed, drawn up by Arius himself, which was subscribed by the Bishops that adopted his tenets, and was circulated in the East, the language is—Τῆς αἰῶνος ὑποστάσις Πατρὶ, ὅτι καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα... ὅδε ὁ υἱὸς ἀρχαῖος γεννητὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς... ὃς ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑπάρχει. \* In another creed of the Arian Auxentius, which happens to be preserved, and which was composed for the use of the West, the expression is even stronger, "Credo... *Filium*, ejus unigenitum, ... Deum, *verum Filium*, ex vero Deo, Patre.†

(2) But we are told, "the term *Filius* was generally used for Christ in two natures." If the terms in this proposition are transposed, by which we shall arrive at its direct contradictory, it will bring us a little nearer to the mark; the term *Christ* being almost invariably used to designate our Lord in two natures; the term *Son* in his divine nature alone. From the confession of St. Peter, to the creed which passes under the name of Athanasius, the invariable doctrine of the Catholic Church has been, that "*the Son is of the Father alone, neither made nor created, but begotten.*" I should be ashamed to offer any proof of this position, which might be confirmed from almost every page of the works of the Fathers of the Church. Nor on this point was there any ground of caviling with the Arians, as we may collect

\* Confes. Arian ap. S. Epiphan. adv. Hær. Tom. I. p. 733.

† Confes. Auxent. ap. S. Hilar. col. 1270. ed. Bened.



from the passages extracted from the creed of the founder of their heresy; their quarrels turning on the doctrine of *one substance*, which the disputed verse was calculated to aggravate, whatever concession was made them, by the adoption of the term *Word*.\*

(3) After we are thus instructed, that the term *Filius* was equivocal, we are informed, that "the term *Verbum* explained itself." Another transposition by which we shall again arrive at the direct contradictory of this position, will, here also bring us a little nearer to the truth. The term *Son*, as implying its correlative *Father*, intimated an identity of nature, and a personal diversity between the *Beings*; a son being of the same nature as his Father, and of a different person from him, as begotten by him. It thus contained in itself the force of the entire proposition, added by the Evangelist to define the equivocal term *Word*,—that it "was God, and with God." In this light Fulgentius, to whom the fabrication of the disputed verse is partly attributed by the respondent regarded this subject. In the opening of his "*Responsio contra Arrianos*," he observes, "*Pater ergo et Filius relativa sunt nomina, quæ naturam gignentis genitique non separant, sed unam sine dubitatione significant;*" and shortly after "*generatio personas distinguit.*"† But when he comes to reason from the term *Word*, his arguments are not deduced from any intrinsic force in it, that fitted it to "explain itself," but from the explanatory *adjuncts*, by which it was found necessary by the Apostle to define it; thus referring to John i. 1.

\* On this subject the highest authority is that of the learned father, who took the lead in the Arian controversy; vid. S. Athan. Oper. Tom. I. ii. p. 760.

† Fulgent. Respons. contr. Arrian. ad init.

he observes, "Hinc Sabellianus vincitur, quia, in eo quod 'Verbum erat apud Deum,' ostenditur altera Patris, altera Filii esse persona; hinc etiam Arianus superatur, quia in eo quod 'Deus erat Verbum,' ostenditur una esse Patris Filiique natura."\* On the contrary, it was the Sabellian who took his stand on the force of the term *Word*; to him, as the African Church had been taught by the founder of her exegetic theology, "the term explained itself," as properly meaning, "*vox et sonitus*, et sicut Grammatici tradunt, aër offensibilis intelligibilis auditu" . . . "ut ipse sit qui protulerit et quid prolatum est."†

(4) In the fate of the preceding conjecture, relative to the cause which occasioned the substitution of *Verbum* for *Filius*, that by which it is followed, as founded on the same distinction, is necessarily involved: in which we are taught that "the change was made to avoid the consequences of making Christ bear witness to himself." Allowing the author of this fortunate guess every benefit arising from that confusion of terms, which takes *Filius* and *Christus* as convertible, and accordingly substitutes the one for the other: the proposition, abstracting this error in its principle, is so wholly destitute of the semblance of truth, that its direct contradictory was constantly enforced by the Catholics in urging John x. 30, in their protracted controversy with the Arians. This position I should again feel ashamed to substantiate, by reference to the works of the Fathers. In fact, an extinguisher is put on the conjecture, by Augustine's testimony alone, in a passage not carefully sought in the wide range of his works, but

\* Id. de Orthod. Fid. cap. xviii.

† Tert. adv. Prax. cap. vii. xi.

subjoined by him as the authority of his allegorical explanation of the eighth verse; from whence, we are told, the seventh verse has been deduced, by the African fathers. His words, are "*Testes vero esse Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum sanctum, quis in Evangelio credit et dubitat, dicente Filio, Ego sum qui testimonium perhibeo de me.*"\*

Due weight being thus allowed to the principles on which the respondent reasons; every consideration by which he supposes the African Fathers induced to adopt Verbum, must have really determined them to reject that term, for *Filius*, which they have generally chosen in stating their doctrine.

The preceding extract from Augustine would of itself illustrate the happiness of the respondent, in referring to that Father, for a proof of the manner in which the transition has been made from *Filius* to Verbum; if the selection of his explanation of (John i. 14.) "*the Word became flesh,*" as the foundation of the change, did not afford proof more convincing of the incompetency of the conjecturer. The text on which he thus happily blunders, independent of its possessing *no term* in common with the allegorical exposition of Augustine, "*the blood is the Son,*" proves to be the *fundamental text*, as we shall soon discover by the malice of Vigilius, on which the Eutychians justified their attachment to Verbum. And that vile traitor, Fa-cundus, conspiring with Vigilius, to betray the incompetency of their patron to deliver an opinion on this subject, demolishes his present conjecture, as mercilessly as Augustine destroys the preceding. Following this writer in allegorising the eighth verse; instead of John i. 14. he gives up

\* S. August. uti supra col. 726.



Heb. ii. 14. as the authority of the exposition; which contains both the literal "blood" and the allegorical "Son," of Augustine: in "*sanguine vero Filium significans, quoniam ipse—communicavit carnem et sanguine.*"\*

To complete this work of treachery, Facundus and Vigilius conspire in delivering the following testimony, from whence we may possibly form as good a conjecture as any with which we have been amused, on the contrary force of the terms *Filius* and *Verbum*. From it likewise we may be enabled to judge, how far a spirit of peace or concession would have induced the African Fathers to insert the text of the Heavenly Witnesses and throw in the term *Verbum* as a boon to the Eutychians.

"CHRISTUM igitur *Filius Dei*, quemadmodum dictum est in *duabus* prædicamus esse *naturis*. Nec dici patimur *unam* ejus ex *Divinitate* et *huminitate* compositam esse *naturam*, ne Patri *cujus simplex natura est, consubstantialis non sit*, &c. . . . At huic evidentissimæ rationi *bruta Eutychionorum contentio* refragatur, adfirmans *Dei Veritatem*, immutabiliter simplicem cum suscepta *humanitate, in unam* componi potuisse *naturam*."

"Quoniam *Eutychiana hæresis* ad id impietatis prolapsa est errore, ut non solum *Verbi* et *carnis unam* credat esse *naturam*, verum etiam hanc eandem *carnem* non de *sacro Mariæ virginis corpore* adsumptam sed *de cælo* dicat (juxta infandum *Valentini* et *Marcionis* errorem) fuisse deductam: ita *pertinaciter* '*verbum carnem adserens*' '*factum*', ut per *virginem* ac si *aqua* per *fistulam* transisse videatur, non tamen ut de *virgine* aliquid quod

\* Facund. uti supra cap. iii. p. 6.

† Ib. ibid. cap. v. p. 10.

nostri sit generis adsumpsisse credatur; optimum duxi hanc impietatem *veritatis assertionem destruere* . . . maxime quod multum ad *utriusque nature confessionis* veritatem proficiat divinis approbare testimoniis, *Filium Dei* humanum corpus de virginis carne sumpsisse.\*

The substance of these extracts, and the inferences deducible from them, were submitted to the reader at the close of my first letter.† After adducing testimonies thus full, explicit, and apposite, I should deem it an abuse of time, to waste another word on a controversy, which has been uselessly protracted.

I have the honor to be, &c.

June 18, 1822.

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P. S. Since the preceding observations were committed to the public, a learned correspondent informs me, that the opinion passed by me, on the testimony borne by Tertullian to the disputed verse, has fallen under the animadversion of a contemporary writer. The Bishop of Lincoln, as I am assured, in his *Lucubrations on Ecclesiastical History*, (derived from the *Bibliotheca* comprised in a *solitary Father*,) passing, by an easy transition, from his author's testimony to my inquiries into the integrity of the received text, concludes with giving it as his opinion, that "the passage of Tertullian affords decisive proof, that he knew nothing of the verse." p. 349.

When this "decisive proof," to which I beg to receive an introduction, makes its appearance; I feel little hesitation in declaring; that a few observations shall decide upon its merits. In submitting for controversion, the subjoined revision of my opinions, which principally apply to Mr. Porson's remarks; and which I am so bold as to say, afford "decisive proof," that it is the right reverend commentator who has so egregiously mistaken his text; I take leave to preface them in

\* Vigil. contr. Eutyech. Lib. III. ad init.

† Vid. supra. p. 175.

the words of his favorite; Qui nos revincere audebit, non ade verborum, sed eadem forma qua probationem constituimus, de veritate debeat reniti." Apolog. cap. xliii.

Tertullian, in speaking of the Trinity, uses this phrase, "qui tres unum sunt non unus, quomodo dictum est, ego et pater unum sumus." In weighing the force of these words, three considerations force themselves on our observation; respecting the *terms* chosen by him to express his doctrine; the *comment* by which he explains it; and the *distinction* by which he illustrates it.

Let it be assumed with the advocates of the verse, that "tres unum sunt," is text; and Tertullian's choice of his terms, his distinction and comment are equally unavoidable and apposite. His terms are adopted from necessity, not choice; as those used in scripture, and most probably urged by his opponent. His distinction, in illustrating them, is that of St. John, by whom "it is said, 'tres unum sunt,' non unus." His comment, in explaining them is conclusive, in establishing his doctrine; that "tres," in the masculine, opposed to "unum," in the neuter, express persons opposed to a substance. And here instead of venturing a guess, we may refer to an ancient father, who refers to scripture, and had Tertullian before him: vid. Inq. into Integr. of Gr. Vulg. p. 291, n. 287.

Let it be fancied, with the right reverend commentator, that "tres unum sunt" is not a quotation:—and Tertullian chooses to state his doctrine in the very language which is adopted by his opponent, and used in scripture, (1. John. v. 7.) to express an union contrary to what he labors to inculcate. And he further illustrates it, by a distinction between 'unum' and 'unum,' which conveys this important arithmetical discovery, that 'three are not one.'

Let it be supposed, as by Mr. Porson, who takes a middle course, and asserts, that it is Tertullian's object to state his doctrine, not by quoting and explaining scripture, but by delivering it in scripture language. Without observing that the antecedent objections still continue in force; I ask, when 1. John. v. 7. is removed, where unless in 1. John v. 8. (the passage, in which the critic supposed St. Cyprian found authority, for his "scriptum est, et hi tres unum sunt,") could scripture authority be found for "tres unum sunt?" And this being admitted to be the source of Tertullian's text; what then becomes of his comment, that "tres," (which is qualified in scripture by "spiritus aqua et sanguis,") as opposed to "unum," signifies a person, as opposed to a substance? thus making br



and blood" persons, and consubstantial with "the spirit." Instead of amusing ourselves, or abusing the reader's time, with guesses as to the consequences resulting from such methods of exposition; the opinion of an ancient father may be consulted on the subject: vid St. August. ut supr. p. 174. n.\*

Mr. Porson indeed adds, respecting the words, held by me to be scripture, that "Tertullian does not declare them to be a quotation." Without assuming that they were cited by Praxeas, as I hold; yet as they are connected in the context, I ask, with what propriety, could they be so cited? Tertullian writes, "*tres unum sunt, non unus, quomodo dictum est, ego et pater unum sumus.*" I contend, that the intermediate phrase, "*quomodo dictum est*" is referable to the antecedent clause, "*tres unum sunt*," not less than to the subsequent: and I maintain, that the common principles of composition precluded the repetition of this phrase, as tautological. The conjunctive '*quomodo*,' which is put for '*eo modo quo*,' by an usual ellipsis of the pronoun, that occurs in every page of the Latin, has a retrospective force, which would not belong to the conjunction *et*, or *sicut*, in the same position. The passage, when its full force is ascribed to this connective, runs thus; "*eo [modo] tres unum sunt non unus, dictum est, quo modo ego et pater unum sumus.*" Will any man pretend to say, that this can be the case, unless both passages be scripture—or it is admitted, that the *dictum* of Tertullian is offered by him as equivalent to the sentence of the Apostle?

The Professor proceeds, to object, that "Tertullian is content with a slight and transient allusion to the text, which is *twice as important*, and by its peculiarity of expression demanded, a double share of attention. . . . He must have been strangely forgetful, or something worse, to reason so much from his *weaker* authority, and so little from his *stronger*." The weight of this objection will be fully appreciated, by reference to the objections advanced, supr. p. 176; n.† and authorities there cited. On the parallel between Mr. Travis drawing up his Appendix, and Tertullian his refutation of Praxeas, by which the critic enforces this objection, one short observation will suffice; thus far do they appear to be analagous, that the disputed passage as unluckily *subverted* the position of the one, as it *supported* that of the other.

There is a *slight* difference also between these *parallel* cases, arising from the consideration, that the one wrote under the influence of the *Disciplina Arcani*, and the other under an ex-

emption from its obligation. . . . Possibly the critic's idol may discover, also, in this remark, what the "something more than forgetfulness" was which induced Tertullian, "to read so much from his weaker authority, and so little from his stronger," as he is pleased to term them. I may be permitted to observe, in conclusion of these remarks, that the person, who after a search for the disputed text, in any Father of the Church, requires it fully to be disclosed, before Christianity superseded Paganism, as the established Religion; can give no position such "decisive proof," as, the following;—that his knowledge of ecclesiastical antiquity, from Barnabas to Gennadius, he is not merely a child, but an infant.

# EXTRACT FROM A LETTER

TO THE

REV. ARCHDEACON C\*\*\*.

—If you set the question upon the hypothetical grounds on which I placed it; I am convinced you will not require many moments to deliberate before you withdraw your exceptions. You object, that “no part of the inspired infallible word of truth gives any support to Sabellianism, or to any other heresy.” But am I wrong in saying, that there is partial truth in every heresy; and that Sabellianism is true, in asserting the doctrine of *one substance*? It is, I believe, by a *partial* application of scripture, that every heresy is supported: and from the application of that *part* of scripture contained in 1. John v. 7. I think Sabellianism may derive support. This I shall undertake to shew, after I have considered your objections.

(1) You first observe; “what is there in the text to countenance in the slightest degree, what they asserted, that “the Word and Spirit were in God,” as “the reason and soul are in man”? Apply it, Man bears witness, and Reason bears witness, and the Soul bears witness; and these three are one.’ Would even a heretic talk so absurdly”? But here I must say that the absurdity arises from misrepresenting the



heretic: in quoting whom you first substitute the term "man" for *body*,\* and then draw your own conclusion from your own misrepresentation. The heretic appears to me to reason thus; as a soul and reason are necessary to constitute one person, and do not make three persons in Man; the father and spirit do not make three persons, but one person, in God. The analogy may be ridiculous; but admitting it to apply, the conclusion is just.

(2) You think the question is turned against the heretic, by the following remark, "what is a clearer proof of personality than personal action, as giving testimony. The three must be persons, or none of them persons, but all personifications; and as the *Father* is indisputably a person, so must the Word and the Holy Ghost." To the alternative stated in your major proposition "the three must be persons, or none of them persons," the heretic could make no objection; as he acknowledges, no personal difference between the heavenly witnesses, any more than the earthly; although he would tell you, a good catholic would object to your calling the "spirit" verse 8 either "a personification" or "inanimate thing," of which Christ declared "to day shalt thou be with me in Paradise."† But I am convinced he would tell you, that in your minor, "the *Father* is indisputably a person," you begged the question; as this is precisely what he denies. The Divine Mind, or Godhead, he believes, consists of three "numerations or energies," to the first of these he gives the name of "Father," as he gives that of

\* See *Inquir. into Integr. of Gr.* Vulg. p. 536, n. 188.

† Luke xxiii, 43, conf. ib. 46.

"Son" to the second, not because he considers either a person, but believes the one depends on, and originates in, the other: and these two with the 'spirit', (whom he denominates, from their differing, not in person but *energy*;) he considers one God, in one Person, not three. *His* conclusion consequently is, as the "father" abstracted from the other "energies" is *not* a person; so neither is the "son" nor the "spirit" abstracted from the Father.

Having thus replied to your objections, I think, he would thus prove, that his doctrine of "three energies in the Godhead," derived more support from the contested passage, than your doctrine of "three Persons and one God."

"While you prove, he might reason, the personality of the witnesses, from a *rhetorical figure*; which proves nothing, or proves that "water and blood" are persons; and from which I would undertake to prove that "mountains and valleys" are persons, because they are personified, and said "to laugh and sing;" I can prove my point from the *literal force* of the terms and obvious *analogy* between the divine and human nature. And let me observe, that the Apostle fully authorises the analogy, in applying the terms *λόγος* and *πνεῦμα* to God, which you cannot deny, are applicable to Man. Admitting the analogy on this authority, my argument stands thus; as the reason and soul do not make separate persons in Man; neither do the *λόγος* and *πνεῦμα* make separate persons in God. And this is precisely what the Apostle means by saying the three bear witness, while he subjoins — *οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσι*: for these words admit of the easiest association with my distinctions. Adhering to the sense

' and letter of scripture, I change not a word; but  
 ' qualify τῆς with ἰσχυρά, and ἰ with πρόστα or πρὸς  
 ' which immediately precedes. On the other hand  
 ' to maintain your notion of personality, you  
 ' build on a figure which involves an ambiguity:  
 ' and perverting the sense change Δίς into Τίς  
 ' and τῆς into τίς to agree with πρόστα, and ἰ into  
 ' μίς to agree with ἰσχύς: when you have taken this  
 ' liberty with the text, your exposition may be  
 ' founded on scripture, but it is not founded on  
 ' the disputed verse, which may be perhaps reco-  
 ' ciled to your notions, but which requires a  
 ' reconciliation to make it accord with mine."

To answer this plea I can see no other plan  
 pursue but that which was taken by Tertullian.  
 This however directs me to texts of a very differ-  
 ent character, from 1 Ioh. v. 7. which I must  
 content to leave with my opponent, as not em-  
 bracing those distinctions by which his errors  
 refuted.

\* Inqu. ut supr. p. 299. n.











